

EXURGAT DEUS DISSIPENTUR INIMICI *

THE HISTORY OF THE DEfendors of the Catholique Faith.

Whearevnto are added

Observations { *Divine.* / *Politique.* / *Morrall.*

By Christopher Lever

Nostrum in Cœlo Negotium.

LONDON Printed for Nicholas Fusell and Humphrey Moseley, at the signe of the Ball in Pauls Church yard. 1627.



POSUI DEUM ADIUTOREM MEUM



NON NATVRA SED PONTIFICIORVM ARTE FEROX.



SEMPER EADEM



DONEC PAX REDDITA TERRIS

F. Hulsius. sculp.



BEATI PACIFICI

THE HISTORIE OF THE DEFENDORS OF THE CATHOLIQVE FAITH.

Discoursing the state of RELIGION *in England, and the care of the politique state for Religion during the reignes of*

King { HENRRY 8. / EDWARD. 6. } *Queene* { MARIE. / ELIZABETH. }

And our late Souereigne, King IAMES.

Kings and Queenes of England, France and Ireland, Defendors of the most True, most Ancient, and most CATHOLIQVE FAITH, &c. (***).

With all, Declaring by what means these *Kings* & *Queenes haue obtained this Title,* Defendor of the Faith, *and wherein they haue deserued it, whereunto are added,*

Obseruations { DIVINE. / POLITIQVE. / MORALL. }

BY CHRISTOPHER LEVER.

Nostrum in Cœlo Negotium.

Printed at London by *G. M.* for *Nicolas Fussell* and *Humphrey Moseley*, and are to be sold in Pauls Churchyard at the signe of the Ball. 1627.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

TO THE MOST HIGH, MIGHTY, And moſt Gratious PRINCE, *CHARLES:*

By the grace of God, King of Great Brittaine, France and Jreland, Defender of the CATHOLIKE FAITH.

YOVR MAIESTIES

MOſt *humble, and vnworthie Seruant,* CHRISTOPHER LEVER; with *all humilitie dedicateth this* Hiſtorie of the Defendors of the Catholike Faith, *vnto your Majeſtie, beſeeching Almightie God to deriue vpon your ſacred name and houſe a perpetuall ſucceſsion of able and reſolute* Defendors of the Faith: *to the honour of God, the peace of the* Church, *the proſperitie of the* State, *the bleſſed memorie of your Royall Name, and the Confuſion of* Antichriſt.

AMEN.

A CATALOGVE OF the Chapters contained in this HISTORIE.

King HENRIE 8.

1.  *N induction to this Historie briefly declaring the variable change of Times, from the beginning to the time of this Historie.* page 1.

2. *By whom and what meanes this Title* Defendor of the Faith *was giuen to the Crowne of* England. pag. 19.

3. *King* HENRIES *first Act of Defence for the* Catholike Faith. pag. 31

4. *Of what importance this Act for the Kings Supremacie was to the state of* England, *in respect of* Pietie *and* Policie. pag. 38.

5. *Of the suppressing of Abbeys and Religious houses in* England. pag. 48.

6. *Of the Kings remisse and cold proceeding in the worke of Reformation.* pag. 60.

7. *Of the sixe Articles and the euill which thereof ensewed.* pag. 77.

8. *Obseruations out of the generall view of this latter time of King* HENRIE 8. pag. 91.

9. *In what state King* Henrie *left the kingdome to the next* Defendor *of the* Faith, *King* Edward 6. p. 109

10. *A comparison betweene King* Henry 8. *of* England, *and* Fredericke Barbarossa *the Emperour of Germanie.* pag. 119.

King EDVVARD *the* 6.

11. OF *the next Defendor of the Faith, King* Edward *6.* pag. 125.
12. *Of the benefit that redounds to a ſtate by a lawfull ſucceſsion of bloud.* pag. 131.
13. *Of King* Edwards *defending the* Catholike Faith *and wherein he chiefely defended it.* p. 139.
14. *The trouble of the* State, *at this time of King* Edward, *how they were occaſioned and how compounded.* p. 152.
15. *A diſcourſe of the miſerie of mans life vpon occaſion of the Duke of* Summerſets *death.* p. 165.
16. *Of king* Edwards *death, and how he left the ſtate to the next ſucceſsion.* 179.
17. *A Compariſon betweene king* Ioſias *of* Iuda, *and king* Edward *of England.* p. 187.

Queene MARIE.

18. OF *Queene* Marie, *and of the alteration of the State in the beginning of her gouernment.* pag. 191.
19. *In what particulars Queene* Marie *did moſt offend the* Catholike Faith. p. 201.
20. *Of certaine diſcontents whereat Queene* Marie *tooke great offence.* pag. 225.
21. *Of rebellion a diſcourſe.* p. 237.

22. *A Comparison betweene Queene* Marie *of England, and* Katherine *de Medicies, Queene-mother of France.* p. 245.

Queene ELIZABETH.

23. *OF the next* Defendresse of the FAITH, *Queene* Elizabeth, *and thorow what difficulties she attained the kingdome.* p. 249.

24. *The first act of the Queenes defence for the* Catholike Faith, *after she was* Queene. p. 262.

25. *Of certaine state considerations which in respect of* Policie, *might have disswaded the Queene from reforming the state of Religion.* p. 268.

26. *Of the care the Queene and State had to suppresse the enemies of the* Catholike Faith. p. 282.

27. *Of what importance these statutes were in the* 13. *yeare of the Queene in respect of the Church and state.* p. 296.

28. *Of the Christian care Queen* Elizabeth *had to defend certaine Christian Princes and their States.* p. 306.

29. *A remembrance of some particulars, wherein God hath defended this* Defendresse *of the* Faith, *Queen* Elizabeth. p. 321.

30. *Of* Q. Elizabeth *her resolute continuing in defence of the* Catholike Faith. p. 329.

31. *Of the last Act of the Queenes defence for the* Catholike Faith. p. 333.

King

The Contents.

King IAMES.

32. OF *the next Defendor of the Faith King* Iames, *the Kings Maiesty that last was.* p.335.

33. *Of the Kings defending the* Catholike Faith *in* Scotland *before hee was King of* England. p.343

34. *In what particulars King* Iames *our Souereigne hath principally defended the* Catholike Faith. p. 347.

35. *A remembrance of some particulars whereby God hath wonderfully defended the Kings Maiesty.* p.361

36. *Of the diuersity of Religions.* p. 364.

THE HISTORIE of the Defendors of the CATHOLIKE FAITH.

AN INDVCTION to this Hiſtory, briefly declaring *the variable change of times, from the* firſt beginning to the time of this *preſent Hiſtorie.*

CHAP. I.

THE firſt time was in the firſt Creation, for before God made things there could be no time; time being a deriuing of things to ſuch ends,

whereto in Gods decree they are directed. For whatſoeuer is earthly, euen man and the number of his trauells, with their circumſtances, are bound by God to a neceſſity of time, beyound which all the power of earth cannot reach. Their opinion then is both fooliſh and wicked, who imagine all things to happen by fortune, and that there is a ſpeciall power in the Orbs and Elements (which they call Nature) by which, both heauen and earth and euery worke thereof is directed. And this opinion of Atheiſme is grounded vpon this doubt, that whereas wee define God to bee the beginner of all things. It is by them demanded, where that God had his beginning, and from what hee diſcended. By which forme of reaſoning they conclude againſt their owne vnbeleefe, their doubting what ſhould begin, acknowledgeth a beginning, the which beginning is God, not that God himſelfe had beginning, but that all things had their eſſence and deriuation from him: hee himſelfe being infinite, and without time. For as in the figure of a Circle, is not to bee found any limit or

What Time is.

terme

terme of beginning, or ending: So God within whose Circle all things bee that are; in whom we liue, moue, and haue our being, is infinite in time, and infinite in all his attributes.

Secondly, This diuine Truth is confirmed by the sentence of the best Phylosophers, who (with their eyes of Nature) could discerne and distinguish this Truth. But because I write to a Christian Prince I will not therfore strengthen my selfe with prophane authors, but much rather content mee with the testimonie of God, whose words hath sufficient Maiesty to answer all opposition. By this word I know that God in the beginning, created the world of nothing, there being no preexistent matter whereof to make it: and then of the dust of the Earth made he Man, a most noble Creature, of a matter most base, and breathed into his Nostrills the breath of Life, a soule so pure and spiritual as nothing but God could be more, being the sacred breath which hee himselfe inspired, whereby our soules (euen after our fall) yet relish of that diuinity, and whereby

The Iudgement of Philosophy.

Gen. 1. 1.

The Creation of Man.

we yet reach our meditation and ſpirituall exerciſe to God who did inſpire them.

All things giuen to Man.

Thirdly, And to this Man thus made, did God giue, the heauen, the earth, and all the beauty of them; For hee himſelfe in whom was the fulneſſe of all things needed not ought that was made, but gaue them to his ſeruant Man; to whom hee had made all things ſeruants, reſeruing Man to his owne ſeruice onely. And for this end hath God giuen Man a Law, which limits him with ſtrict obedience, and bindes him to the due execution of ſuch ſeruices, as may direct him to his end, which is Gods Glory. The obſeruance of which Law is called Religion, the not obſeruing it a Rebellion againſt God; becauſe thereby wee oppoſe againſt that power that made vs. This obſeruance of the Law of God which wee call Religon, is that which hath deuided the world into ſo many diſagreements, the which like fire that deuideth the metttle and droſſe, doth cull out the moſt approued of Mankinde, vpon whom Gods decree hath ſet the diſtinction of mercie, and doth marke ſuch for

The world diuided by Religion.

the

the inheritance of eternall life. Among all which differences the maintainers of euery seuerall call it their Religion to which they chiefly adheare disclayming all diuersitie.

Fourthly, Yet as there is but one God, so of necessity there can be but one Truth, and but one manner of true seruing that onely God, and such forme must that seruice haue as may please the liberty of the Master, and not the base condition of seruants to appoint. And from hence doth arise the multiplicity of Religions, that men interpose betwixt God and his seruice, and so denie the most able and absolute God, both power and wisedome in the ordering of his owne affaires. And therefore doe men forme Religions not only diuers, but aduerse to God, and to his own prescriptions. These wrongs doth God suffer in his creatures, not by violence but at pleasure, and for the finishing of such determinations, (as but to himselfe) are most secret neither ought these differences to distresse any mans Christian beleefe, or make him doubt the certainty of Religion, because of many vncertaine Religions.

One God one Truth.

The reason of Multiplicitie of Religions.

gions. For Christ Iesus who is the truth and wisedome of his Father, saith, that he came not to bring peace (though the Gospell of peace) but the sword and difference, that through the firie trial the Saints might passe to the glory of eternall happinesse.

The first schisme.

Fifthl , The first difference in Religion, was in the first family, in *Adams* house the first Man, and that betweene two Brethren, *Caine* and *Habell*. *Habell* brought for his offering to God the first fruits of his Sheepe, and the fat of them, the which Sacrifice God accepted. But *Caine* would not offer a Sacrifice of that value or nature, but presents God with fruit and trash, which God would not accept. And this conceiued in *Caine*, an enuious emulation against his brother *Habell*, which wanting grace to moderate, grew to the highest degree of Enuie, whose nature is to feede on blood, for so did enuious *Caine* vpon the blood of vertuous *Habell*. This *Caine*, this first man of blood, is a Father to all them that loue difference, especially in Religion, and their Religion (of all others) is neerest *Caines* that staine their profession

Gen. 4.3.

Gen. 4.8. *Caine the Father of Scisme.*

and

and themselues with blood, especially with the blood of righteous *Habells*. For God is the God of mercie and not of misery, and his delight is in the good, and not in the blood of the righteous.

The first alteration of Time.

Sixthly, In this generation of *Adam* was the first alteration of Time. For God created all things good, and in purity hee formed them; but Man made them euill, and by sin deformed them. For when sinne entred our Natures, then Man and the Creatures God had giuen him indured alteration, and lost that name of Goodnesse, God gaue them in their Creation. So that nothing is now (in his owne Nature,) Good, but onely by consequence and Gods act, because by sin Man hath spread corruption (like Leprosie) ouer all the generations of Earth, and hath made an alteration of times, and a difference in the Natures of things, which had not beene, but for the curse of sinne, which hath altered their propertie, and made them subiect to euil change, which otherwise should haue had perpetuity of happinesse.

Seuenthly, And as Riuers the longer they

Time the worse for time.

runne, the larger they spread themselues, so sinne and the euill thereof, for the times that are, are much worse, then the times that were: as may appeare; if we compare times, and descend from these beginnings to a larger processe. In the beginning, among three men two were good, and then the greater number were the better, but in the time of *Noah*, among a world of people, God found not a righteous man, but onely one *Noah*; and then the better number was by much the lesse. At this time God looked downe from heauen, and beheld the earth how it was deformed with sinne, therefore he resolues to wash iniquity from the face of the earth, and to bring a generall destruction vpon all flesh. In which Iudgement his mercy saued *Noah* onely and his Family. After the Flood, when God had thus clensed the earth, yet found he in Mans nature concupiscence and a proneneſſe to euill, the which grew vp with time to a maruellous strength; for as the generation of men inlarge, the generation of sinne doth much more inlarge, spreading it selfe ouer all the earth,

Gen.6.13.

earth, and begetting in this new generation of men, new and vnknowne inuentions of euill, whereby they exceeded their euill progenitors both in the number, and quallity of their euills. For at this time popularity and greatneſſe began to be affected, and the deſire of Empire, in ambitious and proud ſpirits made men ſo audaciouſly proud, that they durſt dare heauen and giue God the challenge. And at this time and not before, was there vſe of Pollicie, to contriue this or that euill, to ſteale, murther, waſte, vſurpe and depopulate whole Kingdomes.

The firſt deſire of Empire.

Eighthly, This alteration of manners, occaſioned a ſtrange alteration in the ſtate of things, for theſe differences did reach beyond particular quarrells, euen to the ſubuerſion of whole ſtates; whereby it came to paſſe, that one kingdome deuoured another, and one people did ſubiugate many. As the *Aſſyrians* firſt, who erected the firſt Monarchie vnder *Ninus* and *Simeramis*, the *Parſians* vnder *Cyrus*, the *Macedonians* vnder *Alexander*, and the *Romans* vnder the gouernement & Conqueſts of *Iulius Cæſar*. yet all

The foure Monarchies.

all theſe haue had their alterations and haue indured the miſery of Conqueſt, euen by ſuch whom they reputed for barbarous and baſe people.

Ninthly, The generall care that was had of theſe worldly occaſions, was the cauſe that Religion was ſcarce knowne, & not regarded: & therfore the Church then, exceeded not the number of ſome few families, being tranſlated from one holy Man to another, ſuch as were *Abraham*, *Lot*, and *Iob*; vnto the time of the twelue *Patriarkes*, when it began to ſpread into a holy generation; and after the afflictions of Egypt and the wilderneſſe it came to a flouriſhing and princely ſtate, eſpecially in the times of *Dauid* and *Salomon* Kings of Iſraell; but not long after in *Reobohams* time, tenne parts of twelue fell backe from Religion, and became Apoſtates; yea, and many times that little *Iuda*, that handfull of Gods people, being drunke with eaſe and proſperity, would forget God their mighty deliuerer, forget his Sabbath and his Sanctuary, and giue themſelues to Idolatrous pleaſures, with ſuch generall

The ſtate of the Church in the old world.

nerall appetite, as if God had giuen them licence for wickednesse, no apparance or marke of Religion in *Iuda.*

Tenthly, The mercifull God willing to cure the infirmity of those times, commeth with his Iudgements, Famine, Sword and Pestilence, (not as in the old world to destroy) but to correct the disobedience of his people; who no sooner relish the sweetnesse of his mercy, but wantonly returne to their former remisnesse, and sinne with greater appetite then before: yet for all this doth not God forget to be mercifull, but continueth himselfe in his owne nature a God most mercifull, and most compassionate; who to demonstrate the infinite degree of his loue to his seruant Man, taketh from him the burthensome condition of the Law, which hee could not keepe, and giueth him a new couenant, the couenant of Grace the Gospell of Peace. And thus mercifully he altereth the tenor of our obligation, and to giue this worke of Gracefull authority, hee sendeth his onely begotten the Lord Christ, to satisfie the old, and to ratifie the new Couenant

Gods Iudgements doe correct and not destroy.

God altereth the tenor of our Obligation.

nant both by his actiue and passiue righteousnesse.

The happie alteration of time.

Eleuenthly, Heere was the greatest alteration that euer was in the witnesse of time, for before this we were commanded, to doe and liue, else to die: but now to beleeue onely and liue. Neuer was there a more large demonstration of Gods fauour; nor a like time, wherein Grace was so freely offered, or the gates of heauen so wide set open; as if God should reach his hand of mercy to earth, to inuite vs to his eternal inheritance, and (with the fayrest promises of Loue) to allure vs to a state of most absolute blessednesse: yet notwithstanding all this Grace, and all these faire inuitements, so constant were the men of those times in their euills, that they refuse to indent with God, be the condition neuer so easie, or his promise neuer so absolute: but they combine themselues with all indeauour to resist the Grace of God; they will not haue Grace though God giue it freely; they are all *Moses* no *Christ*, all *Law* no *Gospell*. so powerfull were they in their owne opinions, as if the Law had

How God doth inuite men to their Saluation.

had beene an easie performance; And therfore did they despise the work of Grace, crucifying the Lord of Life, that brought it, and that bought it with the value of his life; a price inestimable, killing also the *Apostles* his faithfull witnesses, and persecuting the *Saints*, to whom God gaue Grace to apprehend this Mistery.

Twelfthly, Heere may a Christian man spend his holy meditations in considering the deprauednesse of Man, the grosse dulnes of his Nature, and how inclinable hee is to all euill. Contrariwise the infinite measure of Gods mercie; who notwithstanding our disobedience, will not vtterly destroy vs his creatures, but in a wonderfull degree of fauour, yeelds himselfe to the weakenesse of our flesh, knowing that our nature hath a proneneſſe to euill onely: And therefore hath he giuen free passage to the Gospell, making it fruitfully prosper in the blood of holy Martyrs, shed in the persecuting times of Tyrants and wicked Emperors.

13. And in this passage of blood did Religion march vntill the time of *Constantine* the

Religion did liue in death

the Great, who intertaining the Chriſtian Faith with good affection gaue it warrant for publike exerciſe, whereby it ſpred ouer all the knowne world with ſuch admirable increaſe, as God onely could giue to a cauſe ſo heauenly. And yet in the height of this proſperity, (according to the Nature of our fleſh) the ſtate of Chriſtendome grew proud, with good ſucceſſe, and wanting the oppoſition of heathen enemies, deuided themſelues into hereſies and factions, wherof inſewed the greateſt calamitie that could be in a Chriſtian ſtate, euery faction receiuing authority and greatneſſe, according as they were fauoured or not by the Emperours.

The cauſe of ſciſme in Chriſtian Religion.

14. And this diuerſity of fortune continued in Chriſtendome for many yeares, yet ſo as Chriſtianity might be well ſaid to flouriſh, vntill the time that the *Popes* did arrogate to their ſeate ſupremacy and vniuerſall power (or as the Hiſtory of Florence reporteth it) vntill the time of *Charles* and *Pippin* Kings of France, who in pollicie to ſecure to them and theirs the poſſeſſion of the weſt

The Practiſes of the French.

Empire,

Empire, bound the Biſhop of *Rome* (whoſe authority might helpe that practiſe) by fauours and friendly entertainements to their faction. And therefore did the French pronounce this ſentence. That the *Pope* being the *Vicar* of Chriſt, ought not to bee iudged by men, but to Iudge all men and to determine euery difference. This ſentence (whether by the *Popes* themſelues, or by their fauourites, the French Kings,) was aſſuredly the Ladder for the *Popes* ambition, and the cauſe whereof hath enſued ſo much euill to the ſtate of the Catholike Church, as that Chriſtendome yet is full of the markes of that miſery.

15. Now the power of God that ſeeth the moſt ſecret practice on Earth, whoſe prouidence cannot bee preuented with pollicie, ſuffers the meaſure of this euill time to fill and ouerrunne with iniquity; ſo that a true Chriſtian might haue thought of himſelfe, as *Elias*, when he thought he was onely left of Gods people: yet in that height of iniquity, there wanted not many *Obediahs*, who hid the faithfull from the ſtroake of perſecution;

tion; neither wanted there ſome euen in this darkeneſſe of Time, who willingly offered their faith to the tryall of fire, and ſealed the teſtimonie of their Religion, with the witnes of their blood.

Obſeruations { *Diuine.* / *Pollitique.* / *Morall.*

Diuine.

FIRST, from this extremitie of euill time doth this following Hiſtory take beginning, and here may be generally noted from the Obſeruations of all times, that God doth neuer ſuffer the light of his truth to be vtterly extinct, though many times in that degree of aduerſity, as that the eye of this world cannot ſee it. This is euident in the ſacred Stories of the *Bible*, and alſo in the condition of theſe times whereof I write. When Ignorance and Error like a double vaile did blinde the face of Truth: yet God whoſe eye of prouidence is euer open, ſeeth the enuie of euill men. And (in the time of his good pleaſure) he taketh off this

this double Vaile, and preſents Truth naked to the view of all men, as in the ſequell of this Hiſtory ſhall appeare moſt euident.

Secondly, Here hence alſo we may note the inſtability of earthly things; and how that Soueraignty, and Empire (the pollitique ends and the extremities of mens indeuours) are built vpon vncertainties, and moſt vnconſtant turnings, the which falſe foundation, hath ſuddenly caſt downe, what many yeares, much ſtudie, and many mens labours had erected. Therefore is that principle of Pollicie, not altogether without reaſon, that *Authority and Greatneſſe of State receiueth ſtrength by diſcords and Faction.* For it is both the nature of things and the trauell of men to indeauour alterations, and to tranſpoſe things from the preſent condition wherein they are, for from this cauſe all Empires haue had their beginning, ſtrength, and death. *Pollitique.*

Thirdly, It is a Morall reſpect, that in our conſtructions we Iudge not properties by externall euidence only, for vertue and me- *Morall.*

rit is not giuen by Suffrage, becauſe it is often included in the farre inferior number, and is often baniſhed to pouerty and contemptible fortune.

Fourthly, For as it is no proofe of truth to produce multiplicitie of witneſſes, where there is a neceſſary relation to fauour. So vertues and morall deſerts, are not Iudged by common examples or opinions, becauſe both the one and other are not free and voluntary, but forced on vs by the groſſe and palpable flatteries of our infirmities.

Fifthly, It is alſo a morall inſtitution that men ſhould ſomewhat diſgrace themſelues in their owne dignities, not that their actions may indure diſgrace, but that their owne opinions exceede not in their owne eſtimations, which error doth often make the moſt fortunate moſt wretched; For if kingdomes, Empires, and the Catholike Church haue indured bad alterations. Let no man dare to ſecure himſelfe in their vncertainties.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

By whom and what meanes this Title Defendor of the Faith was giuen to the Crowne of England.

FIRST, there is not in this laſt age of the world any thing more admirable, or that better doth merit the memorie of writing, then the reformation of Chriſtian Religion, reducing it to that purity of Doctrine, wherein it was firſt deliuered. And this in a double reſpect deſerueth euerlaſting memorie. Firſt, the worthineſſe of the act it ſelfe, being the reſtoring of Religion to the purity of *Doctrine*, whereby ſo much good doth redound to the ſtate of Chriſten-

dome as that greater cannot. Religion being the key that doth open the paſſage to happineſſe, and the Ladder by which wee aſcend the preſence of God and holy Angels, whereby we are intereſſed into Gods fauour, and without which it is impoſſible to pleaſe God. It is admirable alſo in reſpect of the manner and meanes, whereby this worke was wrought, being directed by the ſpeciall power of Gods prouidence, to the admiration of al them that truly conſider it.

The reformation of Religion.

Secondly, For the *Act* it ſelfe, all the learned in the world are in controuerſie, whether (thereby) Religion was deformed, or reformed. To both which opinions many excellent learned men, diuerſly adhered, whereby they deuide the vnity of Religion into theſe two diuerſities; *Proteſtants* and *Papiſts*, either of theſe ſubdeuiding it ſelfe againe, into many ſeueralls; whereby the plaine and honeſt vnderſtanding of men leſſe learned are diſtract; To ſee Religion, (which in truth is but one) deuided into ſo many diuerſities: now becauſe the handling of this doth rather belong to argument,

Chriſtian Religion deuided into Proteſtants and Papiſts.

then

then Hiſtory; to a diſputation, rather than to a relation of the occurrents of Time. I therfore leaue that as impertinent to this buſineſſe, and onely tie my ſelfe to relate the manner how Chriſtian Religion was reformed: and (in ſpeciall) how by the Crowne of *England* this was done; whereby that Nation hath all other Kingdomes of the Earth, (in the higheſt degrees of honour and reputation) much exceeded it being the firſt that with victory, dared to caſt off that awfull and needleſſe yoke of obedience to the ſeate of *Rome*.

How Religion was reformed.

England the firſt that with victory did oppoſe the Pope.

Thirdly, The firſt occaſion hereof was in the time of *Martin Luther*, who by his diligence in preaching and writing had got great eſtimation in *Germany*, eſpecially with the *Duke of Saxonie*, becauſe in his teaching he oppoſed the vſurped authority of the *Pope*, and for deteſting thoſe groſſe hereſies, which by long continuance in the Church, had gotten a generall allowance, among (almoſt all men.) This *Luther* writ a booke, entituled, *de captiuitate Babylonica* ſo offenſiue to the ſtate of *Papacie*, as the *Pope* and all his

The firſt occaſion of the alteration of Religion.

Luthers *Booke de Captiuitate Babyl.*

ſpeciall fauourites, were therewith very much diſpleaſed. Whereupon King *Henery* the Eighth (whether of his owne accord, or by the perſwaſion of others, I know not) writ againſt *Luther*, and in ſpeciall againſt that booke of his *de Capt. Babil.* in defence of the *Popes Supremacie*. The purpoſe of the Kings booke, beeing ſpecially to conclude the doctrine of Pardons. Secondly, of the *Popes* Supremacie. Thirdly, of the Sacraments of the Church: whether this was the Kings owne labour, or that he onely Fathered it to giue it authority, is not certainely knowne, and diuerſly beleeued. Many thinke it was not, and that his Fathering of it was onely a pollicie of ſtate, both to gaine himſelfe a reputation in learning, and that by this ſpeciall demonſtration, the *Pope* might be tyed to the Kings fauour, and aſſiſt him in his Warres againſt the French King: and they haue theſe reaſons of likely-hood, that vpon the inſtant publiſhing the ſaid *Book*, the *Pope* did not only fauour the Kings enterpriſe, but alſo gaue him many other witneſſes of thankes, and among many this

K. Henery the Eighth againſt Luther.

The purpoſe of the Kings Booke.

aboue

aboue all, that (to his other titles of honour) he added this aboue all, that in remembrance of the Kings princely care for the State of the Catholike Religion, hee and his Succeſſors for euer ſhould be ſtiled *Defendors of the moſt Catholike Faith.*

Fourthly, And herein appeared the greatnes of the *Pope* at that time, that the greateſt Princes of Chriſtendome, thought themſelues highly rewarded, for their greateſt trauells, if the *Pope* ſhould but giue them, the allowance of his fauour, or demonſtrate himſelfe in any particular kindneſſe (how ſmall ſoeuer.) And this was a matter very conſiderable, in that pollitique Religion, to gaine ſuch opinion of holines as made him reuerenced of the greateſt *Potentates*. For by this he often made exchange, with great aduantage, giuing them words for things, and receiuing the ſeruices of men, for thankes, indulgences, and pardons, which nothing benefited the Receiuers, but much inlarged his own priuate ends. Such reward had King *Henery* for writing againſt *Luther*, in which may be vnderſtood the *Popes* ſecret practiſe,

The greatnes of the Pope at thoſe times.

The Popes pollicie.

The Popes ſecret purpoſe in ſtiling the K. Defendour of the Faith.

for in giuing this honour to King *Henry* to be ſtiled *Defendor of the Faith*, hee thereby had a farther end then to honour the King, which was to binde him to his perpetuall ſeruice, which he thought he could not better doe then by this obligation of honour, which indeed is the greateſt that can be to a princely minde. The *Pope* knoweth that the King by accepting of this ſtile *Defendor of the Faith*, was bound in the tearmes of honour to defend that whereof hee had taken the protection, and ſo by conſequence was hee bound to all the *Popes* occaſions; he being in the cõmon opinió of the world the vniuerſal head of that faith, which the Kings Title did binde him to defend. And this (howſoeuer the ſucceſſe did not anſwer to the purpoſe,) yet was it great pollicie in the *Pope*, eſpecially conſidering the danger of the times, and that many eyes began with diſlike to prie into the deformities of the Church.

Fifthly But who can contriue againſt God with ſucceſſe, for the *Pope* in this caſe ſhot his euill arrow againſt heauen, which in a perpendiculer line, fell vpon his owne pate.

God

God retorting the euil againſt him that ſent it, making him faſt in his own ſnare & to fall in that pit which he had digged for another. This is Gods doing & it is wonderfull in our eyes. For this K. whom the *Pope* had thought to haue made the inſtrumét of his greatnes, did God make the inſtrument of his fall. the *Pope* gaue him the name of Defendor; But God made the King to defend the Faith againſt the *Pope* the enemie of Faith. For pollicie cannot preuent piety; and God confounds the wiſedome of men, and can make their ſubtill practiſes many times hitt that marke they neuer aymed at; as in this particular, the Pope making particular choice of the King for his Champion, whom God (the contrary party) would imploy for the *Popes* deſtruction, giuing him inuincible ſpirit, to be the firſt Chriſtian K. that durſt put to his Princely hand to Ruine the walls of *Babylon*.

The Popes purpoſe diſappointed by prouidence.

Sixthly, And if the Kings nature, and the circumſtance of time were rightly conſidered, it will appeare ſo admirable as God only could worke that alteration in the Kings minde, the King himſelfe being ſo ſtiffe and reſo-

God moueth the King againſt his naturall diſpoſition.

reſolute, as none of his predeceſſors (I think) in this did equall him; eſpecially in the tearme of honour and reputation: and then conſidering the King had written and publiſhed his proteſtation to defend the Supremacy of the *Pope*, and the Religion then profeſt: it may ſeeme the greateſt obligation that could be to binde his princely Nature, to continue his defence of that which before he had defended, eſpecially in a matter of that conſequence, the rather hauing declared himſelfe to the witneſſe of all men.

Luthers *bitter writing.*

Seuenthly, Againe, if wee conſider that Reply of *Luthers* to the Kings *Booke*, ſo full of heate and bitterneſſe, as that euery *page* (almoſt) hath prouocations, rather to obdurate the Kings heart, and to incenſe him to a more reſolute obſtinacie, then any waies to quallifie or reforme him: *Luther* ſcoffingly anſwering the Kings arguments, with words of ſuch diſgrace, as ill fitted the grauity of *Luther* to giue, or the Maieſty of ſo great a Prince (with any patience) to indure. And doubtleſſe this in *Luther* was a great ouerſight and a miſconceiuing, to

Luthers *miſconceiuing.*

thinke

thinke to helpe his cauſe by traducing the Kings perſon; For the reſolutions of great men are not moued by power, but by the perſwaſions of inferiours. And *Luther* in writing this booke againſt *King Henery*, doth rather expreſſe his zeale then his diſcretion: For *in all Controuerſies, the heate of words (eſpecially in the grauer) is a want of that moderation, and Iudgement, which onely giueth ſeemelineſſe, and good forme to all our actions*: yet notwithſtanding all theſe backe occaſions, which (in mans Iudgement) might ſeeme to hinder, this gracious worke, did God effect it, and that by his inſtrument, *King Henery*, whom both the *Pope* and *Luther*, had rather fitted for the contrary.

Luthers *zeale without diſcretiõ.*

Obſeruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, God doth often interrupt and deſtroy the violence of wicked men, and their practiſe, by a contemptible, and vnthought of meanes: for ſo was *Luther* thought,

Diuine.

thought, in respect of the great and generall authority, which then *Antichrist* had: the reason is this, that where God doth place his omnipotent Spirit, that strength is then inuincible, but able to conuince all resistance. For God (onely) can contract in the person of one man, Valour and victory to order and reforme the world.

Politique. Secondly, The Politique practise here is obserued in the *Pope*, who with demonstrations of Loue without charge, could binde the seruice of Princes and great States vnto him. For as it is most needfull that the bodies of great Authorities should haue strong and able supporters. So it is necessary in the wisedome of state, to gaine and continue that correspondencie, and indifferencie, which may support our estimation. In which care this politique forme is very necessary, that in disposing our gifts of fauour we giue least gifts to greatest men, but with most large circumstance: because that, where there is any neerenesse of equality of state, it is not possible to make gifts valuable, but with Ceremonies.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, In *Luther* may bee noted a maruellous defect of pollicie, to labour a ſpirituall cauſe with ſuch vntempered heate. For if *Luthers* ſpirit had had moderation, and that pollitique wiſedome which was but neceſſary in his Religion and high attempts, he would haue made a difference betweene a principall and a ſecond, the *Pope* and the King, and not haue proſecuted againſt them both with like ſeuerity. For *Luther* could not bee ignorant, that the onely meanes to finiſh the reformation he intended, was by the fauour and aſſiſtance of Chriſtian Princes, which care in the cauſe and perſon of *King Henry*, *Luther* did not obſerue.

Fourthly, It is a precept worthy of generall practiſe, that in all ſocieties, men ſhould be Communicable, and tranſlate their offices of loue from one to another. For gifts and retributions, howſoeuer they are leſſe worthy then our affections, yet are they our beſt witneſſes, and doe the better, and more often remember vs: becauſe they are more open, and euident to ſenſe. *Morall.*

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Againe, moderation of ſpirit which is our indifferent eſteeming of our ſelues with others, doth comprehend the very excellence of all humanity, being the moſt noble degree in our nature, and the very next to the dignity of *Grace*. Neither is there any morall vertue, which doth more commend men to generall eſtimation, becauſe it giueth deſert to euery man that hath it, and doth often giue (from it ſelfe) dignities to ſuch as want them.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

King Henries *first Act of Defence for the Catholike Faith.*

THE first Act of the Kings Defence was in retyring himselfe from the *Popes* seruice for at that time, were all Christian Princes his seruants. This Act of the kings was that which many Emperors and great Potentates desired might be done, yet neuer durst attempt to doe, or succesfully attempted it. Such as was the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*, who notwithstanding his greatnesse both of power and spirit, yet failed he in his attempt, though he neuer pursued any thing with greater stomack. Also *King Henry* the Second of *England*, who fayling in the

The first Act of the Kings Defence.

Frederick Barbarossa.

Henry *the Second.*

the fortunes of this buſineſſe, yeelded himſelfe (though valiant and princely) to ſuch baſe conditions of pennance, as well may declare the greatneſſe of the *Pope* that impoſed them: but with this *King Henry* the Eight it may ſeeme, that God himſelfe did conſpire, to make the worke proſperous, and the king for being Gods inſtrument perpetually famous.

The firſt occaſion of difference betweene King Henry and the Pope.

Secondly, The firſt occaſion of difference betweene *King Henry* and the *Pope*, was the proceedings in the diuorſe of *Queene Katherine* the kings firſt wife, who before had bene wife to Prince *Arthur* his Brother, wherein the *Pope* vſed ſuch ſmall regard to quiet the trouble of the kings Conſcience, as thereby the king and the State were very much offended, and then ſuch as did not fauour the faction of the *Pope*, (for ſo I may call it) tooke the aduantage of time, and grew bold to lay open to the king the deformities of the preſent time, and the glory hee might purchaſe in reſtoring Religion to that purity, which now (in that holy profeſſion) was altogether defaced.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Thoſe occaſions ſo moue the kings offence, that hee ſommons his High Court of *Parlyament* at Weſtminſter, laying before them his griefe, which was the ouermuch power the *Pope* had in his kingdome, and the ſmall reſpect that hee and his State had from the *Pope*: whereupon a *Statute* paſt by conſent of the three eſtates, whereby the king was made ſupreme Head ouer the Church of *England*, aſwell in eccleſiaſticall as temporal matters, cutting off al manner of *Papal* authority from the crowne of *England*. And herein may appeare the greatnes of the king, and the reuerence of his Subiects, who framed themſelues to the pleaſure of the king, in a matter of much difficultie and beyond all expectation. And this was the benefit of Maieſty, which begot in them ſuch duty and awfull regard, which to a remiſſe and familiar Prince had not beene granted

The King firſt made ſupreame Head. Anno regni. 26.

An Argument of the Kings greatneſſe.

The benefit of Maieſtie.

Fourthly, This grant of the kings *Supremacie* was the firſt mortall wound the Church of *Rome* receiued, looſing at that time the beſt Crowne ſhee had in keeping,

England a
[illegible]

whereby a preſident was giuen to all other Chriſtian Princes, to free themſelues from the Captiuity of that *Babylon*, with whoſe Fornications the whole Earth was made drunke. And this Act of the State of *England* was ſo well approued in the Iudgement of Chriſtendome, as that many the beſt parts thereof, (in immitation of *King Henry*,) haue caſt from them the bond of *Papall* authority; yea, doubtleſſe ſo deſired it is of all States, as (might it bee done with ſecurity) their is no Prince or State, either Religious or politique, but doth ſo enuie the greatneſſe of forraigne Supremacie, as gladly they would bee cleered thereof, finding many times to the great detriment of ſtate, the iniury of this power, in interdictions and *Papall* curſes, as if wee reade the diuiſions of *Italy* we may in them moſt cleerely iudge, the inconuenience of the *Popes* vniuerſall power, the abuſe whereof is ſo common in thoſe ſtates, as that they are neuer obeyed, but when there wanteth temporall power to withſtand them. And therefore did *King Henry* nobly performe his kingly Office,

The inconuenience of Papall authoritie.

and

and well defend the *Catholike Faith*, in depriuing the *Pope* of that power, wherewith the Christian Faith was offended,

Obseruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, God doth what he list, by what meanes he list, so doth hee produce his miracles by causes naturally vnfitting, and so this miraculous alteration in the state of Christendome, was effected by the king his instrument, who both in Nature and opinion, was thought vnlike for such Religious effects, being rather armed both by the *Pope* and *Luther* to oppose the enterprize. So doth God snare the engine maker; For *the wisedome of this world is but folly with God.* *Diuine.*

Secondly, To obserue a iust proportion of state is good in all degrees, but in a Soueraigne necessary, yet hee that exceeds his state, doth impaire his state, and by taking more then his owne, he doth loose his own. *Pollitique.*

England a free Monarchie.

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England a free Profeſſion.

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For if the *Pope* would haue had leſſe then Supremacie, he might yet haue had mediocrity, or if hee had yeelded to the King in his reaſonable ſuit of conſcience, it is like the King and State had yet yeelded him his vnreaſonable profits.

It concludeth ignorance, and indiſcretion of pollitique ſtate, for a Subiect to force his Prince by violent meanes, for hee that would moue a greater ſtrength then his owne, muſt worke with his head, not with his hands: and the ſafeſt way to ſucceede in euery enterpriſe, is to watch fit circumſtance, and to preſent our indeauours with opportunities.

Thirdly, A Prince ſhould haue this prouidence in his actions, that ſeing he is more then a priuate man, euen the generall Head and principall of the pollitique Body, and ſeeing that all his actions haue reference, either to the good or hurt of his body the State, therefore it doth much concerne his honour and proſperity to eſteeme the ſacred dignity of his place, and to preſerue Maieſty inuiolable from all indignities, be-

cauſe

cauſe a particular euill in a Prince, is often the *Parent* of generall calamities.

Fourthly, To attaine dignities is required, much ſtudy, much labour, and much time; but to looſe them is required none of theſe, for that may ruine in an inſtant, which in many yeares could not be erected. *Morall.*

Fifthly, It may ſuffice for any mans temporall eſtate to attaine indifferent fortunes, and ſuch may iuſtly be reputed couetous, as labour to exceede in ſuperfluities.

CHAP. IV.

Of what importance this Act for the Kings Supremacy was to the state of England in respect of Piety and Pollicy.

FIRST, If we consider the trauells of men on earth, and the continuall passage of all their actions, we shall finde that euery particular man of Spirit, or that hath but more then common vnderstanding directeth himselfe and his whole trauell to one of these two ends; eyther to be *Good*, or to be *Great*, and according to his choice of these, hee doth frame the practise of his life, as if to goodnesse then is his care good, and hee doth exercise those good meanes, that may leade him to his good end. For there is no way to attaine

Goodnes and greatnes the two ends whereto all men intend.

attaine good end, but by good meanes. But he that aymeth at greatneſſe, the care of his life is much different, for to him there is no direct way of lawfulneſſe or honeſtie to runne in, for he breaketh theſe limits, and trauells in euery by paſſage how vnlawfull-ſoeuer: and therefore they of this nature allow, onely of this one principall, that whatſoeuer may direct them to their end, be it ſinne, or ſhame they giue it allowance. Such was the reſolution of that Tyrant, who making Empire his deſired end, cared not to trauell thither in the ſteppes of his neereſt blood, ſo deepe as (perhaps) to damne himſelfe. And like vnto him are all ſuch whoſe deſires leade them to vnlawfull ends, who reſoluing to obtaine their deſires, reſolue likewiſe vpon the practiſe of all vngodlineſſe.

Richard *the Third of England.*

Secondly, And this practiſe of euill men is in common conſtruction called *Pollicie*, whereby the name of *Pollicie* doth receiue much wrong by their groſſe and ſenceleſſe vnderſtanding it, for *Pollicie* may bee either good or bad according to the end whereto

it is directed, and as in euill men it is called wicked, ſo in good men there is a good and a Chriſtian pollicie, directing to a good purpoſe by honeſt and allowable meanes. And therefore may one particular man bee both great and good, Politique and Religious: this onely is the difference, that a man may be Religious, Politique, and good, But not politique, great, and good, vnleſſe Religious good.

Religion and pollicie how lawfully vnited.

Thirdly, And as this diuerſity is in the particular States of men: So is it likewiſe in the generall obſeruance of Kingdomes and Common-Wealthes: the bad, affecting greatneſſe onely, the better, goodneſſe and greatneſſe; ſo as it may be a helping ſeruant to the worke of goodneſſe. So that in euery Chriſtian State, there is regard had to *pollicie*, but to ſuch onely as reſpecteth piety and honeſt life. That then which maketh the difference is the end whereto it is applyed, if to the honour of God, and to aduance goodneſſe, that pollicie is allowable and good, if otherwiſe *pollicie* is not onely wicked, but fooliſh alſo. Becauſe it is impoſſible

The regard of Chriſtian States to pollicie.

the

the ſubtilties of men ſhould preuaile againſt the wiſedome of God.

Fourthly, As for particular inſtance, the Supremacie of the *Pope* in the gouernement of free States not to him belonging, is an Act in the *Papacie* meerely *Politique*, becauſe it directly intendeth the greatneſſe and not the goodneſſe of the *Pope*, hauing reſpect rather to a priuate end, than to any generall care of Chriſtianity. But this Act of King *Henry* and the State of *England* doth anſwer to the grounds both of Religion and *Pollicy*, of *Pollicy* in diſinabling an Enemy: and of Religion in making the reformatiō of Chriſtian Religion, the leuell of all that purpoſe: for by this very act, both the Word and the ſword Religion and the State, yea God himſelfe and the King did receiue much honour; God principally to whom all this ſeruice was directed and the King in a high degree of honour, being Gods principall inſtrument in this moſt holy and Religious worke.

The Popes Supremacie made meerely politique.

K. Henries *Act, Religious and Politique.*

Fifthly, And that it was for the pollitique good of the Engliſh Nation; may appeare out

In reſpect of Pollicie.

out of theſe conſiderations. Firſt, the liberty that was recouered in the perſon of the Prince, he reſuming that abſolute authority to himſelfe, which before was giuen to a ſtranger his enemy, whereby the King did adde to his owne greatneſſe, and diminiſh the power of him that loued him not. And how important this is to the proſperity of a State, let the Iudgement of any ſence iudge it. Againe, there is no State or Kingdome, vnder the awe of Popiſh Supremacie that can be ſaid (truly) to be a free State, or the King thereof an abſolute Prince, becauſe that Kingdome is ſubiugate, and that King Subordinate to the power of another; whereby the gouernement *Monarchiall* (which of all others is moſt excellent) cannot bee ſaid to bee in that State, where the authority of the Prince is deuided, or rather tranſlated into the perſon of another, as in the caſe of *Popiſh Supremacie*, is moſt euident.

The gouernment Monarchiall the beſt.

Sixthly, Againe, to inherit by ſucceſſion of blood, (which is of very ſpeciall conſideration) is by this forraigne Supremacie much

much indangered: becauſe where this power is granted, there is alſo giuen to the *Pope* the power to alter, and diſpoſe of Kings and Kingdomes at his pleaſure, and to tranſlate the inheritance of States according as hee ſhall pleaſe to fauour or diſ-fauour the true owners, whereof many times hath enſued much miſery, and many calamities; So that I verily thinke there is no part of Chriſtendome, that hath not had a wofull experience in this great miſery. That were the Prince or the cauſe neuer ſo Iuſt, and holy, or the *Pope* and his wicked life neuer ſo apparantly euill, yet by this vniuerſall power, hee had power giuen him to alter the State, and to tranſlate Succeſſion at his pleaſure: pretending a Religious good, but intending eyther the aduancement of his baſe kindred, or elſe ſome other enuious and euill end. And how dangerous this may bee to a Kingdome let any Iudgement determine. Laſtly, this inconuenience doth follow of *Popiſh Supremacie*, the practiſe of ſo many Treaſons, wherewith the name of Chriſtendome is much ſpotted; For he that is reſoluued

An inconuenience of Popiſh Supremacie.

Pretend and intend.

The practiſe of many Treaſons.

ued of the *Popes* power to *Anathemate*, *Curſe*, and barre men from the hope of ſaluation, and that he may (at his pleaſure) diſ-inherit and diſpoſſeſſe Kings, and free their Subiects from the duty of their allegiance, and that in conſcience he is bound to yeeld obedience to the *Popes* pleaſure. Such a one wil make no ſcruple to act the bloodie parte of Treaſon, be the deed neuer ſo horred, or the danger neuer ſo apparant, being fleſht with this onely aſſurance. That the *Pope* the holyeſt of all men, doth not onely approoue it for good, but maketh it alſo meritorious, promiſing the merit of heauen to all ſuch as ſhall with reſolution attempt it. And from this Roote hath ſprung thoſe many damnable attempts of Treaſon, whereby the Engliſh Nation hath had many haſerdous and dangerous fortunes, being ſtirred vp to theſe attempts, (not by the nature of the nation but) by the inſtigation of this *Popiſh power*, whereto our Countrymen haue giuen to much authority & credit. And therefore in reſpect of *Pollicie* and the practiſe of State, the King may be thought to haue

The cauſe of many Treaſons.

haue wel vnderſtood the cõſequence of this great buſineſſe and that the *Popes* ſupremacie here in *England*, ſtood not with the Kings honour, nor the profit of the Common-Wealth, and that ſeeing the *Pope* had maintained it (in great pollicie) many yeares to his great aduantage, the King might thinke it wiſedome to take that power vnto himſelfe, which another had vſurped from him and to make that which had beene his enemies profit, profitable for himſelfe; whereby (in one Act) the King did both adde to his owne power, and diminiſh the power of his oppoſite. And therefore doth it well merit to be thought good pollicie, and becauſe it had a reſpect to the good of Religion, I therefore call it a Religious good *Pollicie*.

Popiſh Supremacie the Kings diſhonor.

Good pollicie, is Religious pollicie.

Seuenthly, That it did import the King and the State of England in reſpect of *Pietie*, to denie all ſuperiority and power deriued from the *Pope*, the world is already (in this argument, full of diſputation, whereby the doubt is ſufficiently cleered, and therefore I ſhall not need to enter into this large argument of diſcourſe, ſatisfying my ſelfe with the

In reſpect of pietie.

the ſufficiencie of other mens writings to this purpoſe: This onely Argument, that whereas by the teſtimonie of holy Scripture wee are taught to know that man of ſinne, whom the ſpirit of God calleth *Antichriſt* by this ſpeciall ſenſible ſigne of pride, in that he being but man, ſhall preſume to exalt himſelfe aboue all that is called God. Now that Kings and Princes of the Earth, are (by the ſentence of Scripture) called Gods, it is moſt euident, in that place where he ſaith, *I haue ſaid yee are Gods*: that is, neereſt to my ſelfe in your dignitie of place, repreſenting my power and my Maieſty, in the higheſt degree vpon Earth. Then whoſoeuer ſhall exalt himſelfe aboue theſe degrees of Maieſty, muſt of neceſſity be he whom the Spirit of God calleth that man of ſinne that *Antichriſt*, becauſe his ſinne is like the ſinne of the *Diuels* in the Creation; for as they did, ſo doth he contend for the higheſt *Supremacie*: and (Nymrod-like) he buildeth himſelfe aloft aboue the reach of Earth, reaching his ambition, beyond the limits of mortality, euen aboue all that is called God.

Pride the moſt ſenſible ſigne of Antichriſt.

Pſalme.

The ſinne of the Diuels in the Creation

Nymrods *ſinne Supremacie.*

Eighthly,

Eighthly, And therefore great reaſon had the King, and ſo haue all the Kings of the Earth, to caſt off all friendly intertainement with him, that would exalt himſelfe aboue all fleſh, nay, aboue all that is called God: and I am verily perſwaded, that this one reſpect of pride is that marke whereby ſhee is beſt knowne to bee that *Babylon*, with whoſe Fornications the whole Earth hath bene poyſoned, yet in theſe latter times hath ſhee got more vgly viſors to maske in *Blood* and *Treaſon*; two ſuch deformities, as would be very apparant in the face of Religion. And God no doubt hath ſet theſe markes in her fore-head (as he marked *Cain*) that all his beloued in the world, might know her at the firſt bluſh, and auoide the filth of her Fornications. For where thoſe euills are; God is not in the honour of his ſeruice, but in his Iuſtice and angry Maieſty.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the ſuppreſſing of Abbeyes and Religious Houſes in England.

FIRST, the worke of Gods prouidence is moſt worthy of conſideration, leading (by variable turnings) the paſſage of all tranſitory things to that end, whereto God hath decreed them. In which worke howſoeuer, God doth neuer change the purpoſe of his will, yet the euents (many times) ſeeme very admirable to our vnderſtandings by reaſon of their change and varieties. For all things in this world are in continuall motion, being moued as ſhall pleaſe the hand of prouidence, euery thing being like the mouing Sea, ſometimes flowing, ſometimes in their ebb againe, ſometimes

God neuer altereth his purpoſe.

Viceſſitudo rerum.

times vp, ſometimes downe, according as ſhall pleaſe that power that moues them. And from this mouing cauſe is deriued that variety in the ſtate of Earth which men (falſly) call *Fortune*, the often change whereof to a Chriſtian Iudgement is not ſtrange, becauſe he conſidereth the power that God hath ouer all his creatures, and how inclinable they be to alteration.

The variety of Fortunes.

Secondly, And for particular inſtances: Though Religion before theſe times had indured an euill change, changing the truth for many ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, yet ſo venerable was the name of Religion to the people of thoſe times, as (notwithſtanding their miſconceiuing the truth thereof) they gaue ſuch large demonſtrations of loue and zeale to that profeſſion, and the Profeſſors as no people at any time did euer exceed them; inriching the ſtate of Religion, both with honourable regard, and with very ample poſſeſſions. Inſomuch as the Church then might rather ſeeme a Triumphant, then a Church Militant; So high was it exalted in the degrees of worldly proſperity: yet for all

The regard that was giuen to the Pop: Church.

all this flouriſh, God commeth with his rod of correction, and (finding euill in the greatneſſe thereof) he alters their preſent Condition, that as they had forſaken the truth of his ſeruice, So hee would bereaue them their earthly honour, wherewith the true name of their falſe Religion was gorgeouſly decked.

The firſt cauſe of alteration of Religion.

Thirdly, The firſt cauſe then of this alteration was God himſelfe, who, when hee ſeeth the veſſell of mens iniquity full, he filleth his violl with wrath, to reforme and correct, what euill men had before deformed, and being moſt Iealous of his honour, hee commeth with more then common corrections, to reforme the truth of his ſeruice. For ſo did God at this time, his angry hand reaching deſtruction, beyond the liues of thoſe euill men, euen to their lands, houſes and poſſeſſions, making *King Henry* vtterly extirpe theſe abuſed Monaſteries, as the *Iſrælites* did the *Cananites*, for their monſtrous and heatheniſh ſinnes. And therefore no doubt did God make particular choiſe of *King Henry* for his inſtrument, fitting him

God moſt iealous of his honour.

with

with extraordinary ſpirit, that he might the better mannage this great buſineſſe, whereto God had ordained him, and wherein God did wonderfully aſſiſt him.

The King well fitted for this buſineſſe.

Fourthly, But what might moue the King in reſpect of himſelfe, many men many waies coniecture. Some, by the ſpoyle of theſe houſes that he might inrich himſelfe, and relieue the occaſions of his Warres, which then did much diſtreſſe him. But howſoeuer, this hath credit with him that writeth this Storie at large, yet in that opinion I doe not beleeue him. For it is not likely that any Chriſtian Prince in the world, would for any reſpect of ſpoyle, deſtroy the eſtates of ſo many (at that time reputed) Religious and Godly men. Others thinke the King did this out of Stomacke, the *Pope* being then in full oppoſition with the King, for taking Supremacie from him in the *Church* of *England*, that had but lately giuen to him & his Succeſſors for euer the title of *Defendor of the Faith*; the King imagining he could not ſecure to his poſterity, the continuance of his *Supremacie*, where his

What might moue the K. in reſpect of himſelfe.

Maſter Fox *in the Act and Monu.*

The Popes ſtrength.

enemy (the *Pope*) was ſo ſtrong both by the number and by the worth of theſe Religious houſes: and therefore it is thought the King did ſuppreſſe them in *Pollicy*, making that his owne ſtrength which he found to ſtrength his enemy. And this howſoeuer hath a likely-hood, being neere the Kings diſpoſition, yet I verily thinke the King would not for any pollitique regard, haue brought a generall deſtruction vpon that State which then was held Religious. But rather vnderſtanding by his Viſitors the great diſorder and vngodlineſſe of men and women (in thoſe places) profeſſing Relıgion, did (in the care of conſcience) ſcatter their aſſemblies, ruine their houſes, and iuſtly ſeaze that to his vſe which they with ſo much impietie had abuſed.

The cauſe moouing the King to the ſubuerſion of the Abbeys.

The outtruding of Fryers, &c.

Fifthly, Vpon this conſideration, did the King outtrude the Rabble of *Monkes*, *Nunnes*, and *Fryers*, and ſeaze their poſſeſſions, finding that their large allowance of wealth and eaſie life, was cauſe of their wanton and wicked trade of liuing, and that prayer, and the exerciſe of true Deuotion (whereto they were

were dedicate, was not that whereunto they imployed the large beneuolence of their Benefactors. They vſing (onely) the formes of ſome ſuperſtitious prayers, and a formality in their attire, wherein they obſerued a preciſe order, being in the maine carriage of their liues of all people moſt diſorderly. To reforme which was not onely neceſſary for the truth of holy Religion, but very conuenient for the better gouernement of the Common-Wealth, the State receiuing great detriment by allowing ſo largely to thoſe lazie and vnprofitable members, and the Church great ſcandalls, by their vngodly and heatheniſh liues. To reforme this then, was an Act in the King very gratious, tending directly for the good of both ſtates, whereby he gaue proofe, that God, and not the *Pope*, made ſpeciall choice of him and his Succeſſors, to defend the moſt True, Ancient, and Apoſtolike Faith.

The ſuppreſſing of Abbeyes good to the Church and Common-Wealth

Sixthly, Yet here it may be doubted, whether the King did better in the vtter extirpation of theſe men, their order, and houſes,

A doubt.

or if he had reformed onely the abuſe, and left their places and poſſeſſions to others of better life, and profeſſing the truth of holy Religion, whereby the euil might haue bene taken away onely, leauing their maintenance to be imployed in holy and Religious vſes, eſpecially conſidering that the want in the *Proteſtants* Religion is the want of maintenance, whereby many well deſeruing Schollers liue in the penurie of life vnſupported, which by this meanes might abundantly haue bene ſupplied.

Anſwer 1. Seuenthly, To this doubt many in their ſeuerall opinions diuerſly anſwer, ſome that the ſtanding ſtill of their houſes in the former condition of a corporation was dangerous, leaſt vpon euery alteration of the Prince, the diſpoſſeſſed might againe reenter, whereby the latter condition, might proue worſe then the former. And this reaſon were good, if there might not haue bene aſſurance to haue ſecured them, from all danger of repoſſeſſing, (the which no doubt) might haue bene done, if the prouidence of the State had regarded it.

Eighthly,

2.

Eighthly, Others thinke the King, too ſeuere in this his manner of correction, ſuppoſing it had beene enough for him to correct but not to deſtroy, to reforme the abuſe, not vtterly to haue ſubuerted both the abuſers and the places abuſed: and that his conuerting their wealth to his owne priuate benefit, was an argument that he did this; not in zeale to reforme their abuſes, but rather to intereſt himſelfe into that abundance of wealth they then poſſeſſed; following herein the example of *Cardinall VVolſey*, who in the yeare 1525: obtained licenſe to ſuppreſſe certaine Religious houſes, to furniſh him towards the building of his two *Colledges at Oxford* and *Ipſwich*, the which Colledges beeing founded vpon this falſe ground, neuer had the good fortune to bee finiſhed but periſhed in their Birth.

Cardinall Wolſey, *an euill preſident.*

Ninthly, And I verily beleeue, that howſoeuer the King had a further reſpect then to inherit their wealth, yet was there both that and many other by occaſions, ſtrong inducements to moue him to this ſeuerity in puniſhing. And herein the King may be

The King led by the vehemencie of his Nature and by euill Counſell.

thought to be altogether led by the vehemencie of his owne Nature, and by the counſell of ſuch onely, as did ſpurre him on to theſe extremities, and that hee wanted much of that moderation, and milde Temper, which ought to make all the actions of great men reaſonable. For it is the glory of a Chriſtian Prince to conuert, and not ſubuert, to reforme, and not to deſtroy; For ſo doth God, (to whom all Chriſtian Princes ought to faſhion themſelues) whoſe corrections reſtore and not deſtroy them vpon whom they are inflicted.

The glory of a Prince.

Tenthly, And ſurely it cannot but grieue the compaſſionate Spirit of a Chriſtian, to ſee the ruine of thoſe houſes dedicated to Religious ends, lie rotting in their owne ruines, whereof many (if not all) might haue bene imployed for religious ends, whereas now they lie as markes of miſery, and as demonſtrations to witneſſe how much more regardefull the times before were, then the times preſent are to the loue of Religion and learning, euery man then reaching the better hand of beneuolence to ſupply with abun-

abundance, the neceſſary ſeruices of men reputed holy or learned: whereas now almoſt euery mans hand is againſt the face of learning, it being trod vpon, by the baſe eſtimation of moſt baſe and vnworthy perſons. Alaſſe that men teaching and profeſſing the truth of Religion, cannot in a reaſonable proportion finde that fauour, with ſuperſtitious and euill men had abundantly caſt vpon them. *Dabit Deus & his quoque finem. virg.*

Obſeruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, It is poſitiuely true in diuinity, that there is no Fortune, but the whole ſtate of things, hath infallible ends, from Gods moſt conſtant and certaine determination. *Diuine.*

Secondly, It is common in the order of Gods Iudgements, to puniſh ſinfull affects, with their contrary effects, as Prodigality with Scant, Pride with baſeneſſe, and as it was

was and is in the perſon of the Pope, an ambitious deſire of vniuerſality of Empire, with vniuerſall neglect and hatred.

Thirdly, Vngodly practiſe hath not alwaies euill ſucceſſe, if we reſpect the preſent but if wee reſpect euents further of, they are euer euill and certaine in their deſtruction.

Pollitique. Fourthly, to diſſemble our intents, with faire pretence is a principle in *pollicie*, which I commend not, but remember onely. For though no man bee bound at all times and in euery cauſe to declare himſelfe in direct euidence; yet doth it much aduance the honour of a Prince to be ſquare in all, without difference or diſproportion.

Fifthly, In a generall cauſe, it is neceſſary to be generally reſpectiue, and not to conferre that vpon one, which (with ſatisfaction) may be giuen to manie. Therefore was it good *Pollicie* in the King to diſtribute the poſſeſſions of the Abbeyes he ſuppreſt, to many of principall authority in the State: For it is wiſedome to ſatisfie their offence

that

that haue authority, rather then ſuch as want it.

Sixthly, It was the wiſedome of the beſt morall *Philoſophers* not to place felicity in *Fortune*, becauſe of vncertainties, for hee is onely happie, that cannot be miſerable. *Morall.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of King Henries *remisse and colde proceeding in the worke of reformation.*

FIRST, there is nothing in the Earth more certaine then the vncertainty of al earthly things. For Man (one of the best of Gods Creatures, in respect of the excellencie of his reasonable soule) doth so often times change the condition of his life, as if he were not of that excellencie, nor had not that power of Iudgement and vnderstanding which he hath. And this is Gods worke in the depth of his wisedome, to whom onely all things are certaine, and with whom there is no shadow of change. God reseruing to himselfe the secrets of those things whereof

whereof his will is we ſhall be ignorant, imparting onely ſo much to vs his creatures, as may ſerue for the worke of his ſeruice, he himſelfe ſtill guiding vs by his hand of prouidence, to thoſe ends, whereto his decree hath ordained vs. And by this doth God giue vs a demonſtration of his power, and our weakeneſſe, of his power in being moſt certaine in all thoſe things, which to vs are caſuall: and of our weakeneſſe, becauſe we are like the ayre, we breath carryed whitherſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe the winde to moue vs.

Secondly, The truth of this may appeare (in the Kings particular) who notwithſtanding the greatnes of his ſpirit, and the honorable attempt he had made in the cauſe of Religion, whereby he had runne himſelfe ſo farre in the trauells of that buſineſſe, as that he could not well retyre, without diſhonorable ſhame, the expectation of Chriſtendome ſeeming to depend much vpon the Kings continuance in that courſe: yet euen then did the King ſurceaſe from that Religious worke, which with ſo much honorable

ſucceſſe

ſucceſſe he had begun. Where it may ſeeme ſtrange, that a Prince of his greatneſſe, hauing the aduiſe of an honorable and wiſe councell, ſhould lay vpon his name the imputation of weakeneſſe, not to goe forward with that whereto his honour was ſo much ingaged.

The weakeneſſe of the Kings reſolution.

Thirdly, But if we conſider the time, and the difference of opinions in thoſe great men, to whom the King did ſhew himſelfe moſt gracious, it will then appeare, the buſineſſe went forward, or not, according to the affection of the Kings Fauourites.

The King ruled by perſuaſion and not by Iudgement.

Fourthly, As in the time of *Cardinall Wolſey*, a man ſo great in the fauour of his Prince, as that our *Engliſh Chronicles* cannot match him, who in the time of his proſperity, did ſo poſſeſſe the King, as that the King may be ſaid to ſaile with no winde but the Cardinalls, the king being but the body to his ſoule, he mouing it according to the pleaſure of his owne appetite, and therfore at this time was the king all *Cardinall*, putting himſelfe in Print to defend the Supremacie

Cardinall Wolſey.

premacie of *Popes*. But this time did end with the Cardinals fortunes, who being puft vp and high ſwolne with the ſpirit of ambition, runne himſelfe into ſtrange contempts, againſt the Maieſty of his Prince: who finding him ſo Cardinallike in pride, and vaine glory ſtript him of thoſe honours which before he ſo lauiſhly had giuen him, tranſlating his fauour vpon *Thomas Cranmer* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburie*, whom the king finding Religious, honeſt, and learned, gaue his opinion good authority.

Thomas Cranmer.

Fifthly, And at this time the Proteſtants Religion, began to haue the fauour of the Kings protection: yet by reaſon of the peaceable Nature of this Man, and becauſe of many other important conſiderations of inconuenience; the cauſe of Religion went not with that proſperity forward, as otherwiſe it might. For howſoeuer we may iuſtly conceiue of this learned man, that he wanted neither ſpirit nor power, to trauell in the moſt important affaires of State, the which hee hath well declared by his reſolute and learned proceedings, in the Kings diuorſe: yet

D. Cranmer.

yet considering in what termes the State then stood, and the particular condition of his State, it will appeare that a necessary prouidence of his own security, did inforce him to a violent patience, and to silence and suppresse his zealous spirit, which otherwise would haue ventured vpon much more hazard.

Sixthly, For at this time *Cranmer* contrarie to the lawes then inforce, was married, and did liue with his wife to the great hazard of his life: and this was one respect why hee suffered so much the practise of his enemies, keeping good correspondence, and indifferent fauour, least his Mariage should be called in question, whereby both his state and life had beene exposed, into a danger most eminent.

Seuenthly, And if any man obiect that these regards of *Cranmer* proceeded from his feare of temporall losse, and that he fainted in the maine execution of his Christian Office. I answer, that no feare but a Christian prouidence was the cause of this warinesse; For he might well know, that if hee pro-

proceeded in the difference of Religion by violent and forcible meanes; he ſhould then haue had the whole power of the contrary faction bent againſt him: and being (by reaſon of his marriage) within the danger of law, it could not be auoided but the ſeueritie of the law ſhould haue proceeded againſt him.

Eighthly, Yet notwithſtanding when the neceſſarie care of Religion did require him, there was no reſpect could binde him from his earneſt indeauours, as may wel appeare, by this moſt reſolute oppoſing againſt the Statute of the ſixe Articles. So that *Cranmer* (in true eſtimation) hath well deſerued, and worthily acquitted himſelfe of all imputation; yet by reaſon of theſe occaſions, hee could not doe that, which the opportunity of the Kings fauour did offer him.

Ninthly, Vpon this aduantage *Stephen Gardiner* builds his ſtrength, who by obſeruance, and cunning inſinuation, ſhifting himſelfe into the Kings fauour, got great authority in the State, and according to the

Stephen Gardiner.

nature of his working ſpirit, troubles the waters of peace to fiſh for Romiſh Religion, whereto in his heart he was much inclined. And this man, (not like *Cranmer* but *Matchiuellike*) grounded in the ſecrets of *Pollicie*, ſeemes what he is not, and is content to proportion himſelfe to the faſhions of the time, with purpoſe to alter that faſhion. And this howſoeuer it were a thing very diſhoneſt eſpecially in the office of a *Biſhop*, yet was it a very pollitique Regard, and that miſte whereby he wrought all his inchantments, for by his obſeruance hee continued in the Kings fauour, and by that fauour, he erected the whole frame of his *Policies*.

Gardiner *a great Politician.*

Tenthly, And from this cauſe had the ſixe Articles beginning. *Articles* ſo bloodie, as the letters in them, cannot number the blood which was ſhed in *England* for them, whereby may appeare the greatneſſe of *Stephen Gardiners* wit, that could make the King ſayle with a contrary winde, and deſtroy that cauſe which before he had protected: and this was, notwithſtanding *Cranmer* his oppoſite had then great fauour with the king, and the

The ſixe Articles.

the higheſt authority and place in the kingdome.

Eleuenthly, Another of the Kings Fauourites in thoſe times of difference, was Sir *Thomas More* then Lord Chancellor of England. A gentleman (in reſpect of his naturall ornaments) worthy of much honour, for beſides the beauty of his learning, which in great perſonages is very deſeruing; he had ſo good a moderation and temper in all his actions, as no aduerſity could deiect him, neither any proſperity make him leſſe in the vſe of regard, and ciuill humanity. And notwithſtanding hee was diuers from me in that profeſſion which I hold for truth, yet becauſe I write the truth of Hiſtorie, it were very vnworthy in me to obſcure, the deſeruings of any man, into which error many others, and eſpecially ſuch as haue recorded the paſſage of thoſe times, haue vnaduiſedly falne, traducing the perſons of men for their opinions ſake, and making them altogether euill, that in many commendable things were excellent. And becauſe that all good things are from God, (who giueth them ac-

Sir Thomas Moore.

The excellēt ornaments in Nature in Sir Thomas Moore.

The error of ſuch as write Hiſtorie.

cording to the pleaſure of his will) it were therefore much iniury to obſcure the goodneſſe of God, whereſoeuer it ſhall pleaſe him to place it, and this I write in fauour of truth, which may be well ſaid to be the life, and true mouing ſoule of all Hiſtorie.

Truth the life of all Hiſtory.

Twelfthly, This Sir *Thomas Moore* howſoeuer he was an enemy to the truth of the Goſpell, yet if we compare him with *Stephen Gardiner*, the compariſon will make Sir *Thomas Moore* leſſe euill, the other being ſo monſtrous in his wicked practiſes; for the one made conſcience to equiuocate and diſſemble himſelfe, of which the other made no reckoning. Sir *Thomas* vtterly refuſing the oath of *Supremacie*, becauſe in conſcience he thought he might not take it; *Gardiner* had the like witneſſe of his conſcience yet did take it, and therefore *Stephen* by diſſembling ſaued his life, which the other (by plaine expreſſing himſelfe loſt. So that both theſe, though they conſpire one end, yet in themſelues are they very diuerſe, the one with a manly reſolution, and with the witnes of his blood profeſt himſelfe and his reſolution,

Moore *an enemie to the Proteſtant Religion.*

The vnequall compariſon betweene Moore *and* Gardiner.

tion, the other by ſwearing and forſwearing to banne and diſclaime that, which (in his purpoſe) was the marke whereto hee ſhot himſelfe and his euill pollicies: the one ending all oppoſition in his owne voluntary death: the other by ſubtilty continuing his euill life, that life being the death of many the deare Children of God.

13. Another highly in the Kings fauour, and moſt worthy of high fauour, was the *Lord Cromwell*, a man ſo reſolute in the worke he had begunne, as neuer any did purſue a holy buſineſſe with better Spirit, who notwithſtanding the greatneſſe of his enemies, who after the faſhion of all Courts, enuie ſuch moſt, vnto whom the Prince is moſt gratious, and then moſt, when the degrees of honour are deriued vpon any of meane beginning: yet ſo could this man rule the proſperity of his fortunes, as neither in generall opinion, was he thought proudly to delight them, nor yet not to vnderſtand what thoſe honours were, which the Kings fauour had giuen him. So aduiſed was he in the paſſage of his honourable life, as that

Lord Cromwell.

In moderation.

uie (which ſeeth the leaſt aduantage) could neuer finde iuſt occaſion (though occaſions were ſought) to ſcandalize his reputation, in the generall opinion of good men. And howſoeuer God did ſuffer the euill of his enemies to preuaile ouer his life, yet neuer to the death of his honourable remembrance, to whoſe Godly care, all the louers of Religion in Chriſtendome are beholding, eſpecially the Engliſh Nation, he being a principall inſtrument, whereby the King was moued to reforme Religion.

England beholding to the labours of the Lord Cromwell.

14. In this mans time the Religious then liuing had great hope of proſperity in their holy cauſe, aſwell in reſpect of his diligence to that end directed, as alſo of the Kings inclinable nature, which did ſeeme to conſent with the honourable deſires of the *Lord Cromwell*, intertaining him in all fauourable regard, giuing him names, and places of high honour, whereby his godly cares went the better forward. hauing the ſtrength of the Kings authority, which he applyed to no other end, but that God might receiue honour, in reſtoring the truth of his ſeruice,

In this time Religion did proceed well.

and

and that the king might not receiue dishonour in abādoning the protection of faith, whereof God by the sentence of his enemie had made him defēdor. And this good cause, did this good man prosecute, with the best strēgth of his indeauor, not regarding his life more then God that gaue it, nor the honours of his life, more then the honors of his king, from whose boūty his honors were deriued.

His constancie in one course.

15. Thus we see the diuersity in the king, whereby he grew remisse in following this holy care, which was because of the diuersitie of opinions in those men, whom the king most trusted in the state, he suffering himself to be driuen against the currant of his owne streames, by the violence of other mens perswasions.

Diuersity of opinions cause of the Kings vnconstancie.

16. And here is offered a large consideration of the kings Nature, who notwithstanding his great spirit, and his many other honourable deseruings, he had this infirmitie. That he would be induced to doe those things, which were much disagreeing in themselues, and to goe forward and backward in one course, and suffer himselfe to be

The Kings infirmitie.

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The Kings infirmitie.

moued, whether the violence of other mens affections would carrie him, sometime for, sometimes against Religion: and by this he gaue an open demonstration of the weakenesse of his nature For there is no alteration in a State that is not dangerous, and then is the danger most, when the greate ones (great in authority and neere in the fauour of the Prince) deuide themselues. For difference, if it be not compounded by the awfull Maiesty of the Prince, it will growe to faction, & by consequence to open breach. And though the Prince so gouerne, that they dare not come to open difference, yet will they worke by conspiracie, and secret practise the confusion of each other. For where faction is, there can be no assurance, & men wil seek to assure themselues though it be by the fall of others; And this euill is best preuented by the prouidence of the Prince; who when hee seeth deformity in the body of the State, and that of necessity there must bee alteration, to make such choice of instruments, as best loue the cure, least otherwise in steade of physicke they administer

Euery alteration in a state is dangerous.

miniſter poyſon, and ſo not cure, but deſtroy the body diſeaſed.

17. And this was the Kings error (who though his purpoſe to reforme was good, yet the courſe he tooke was not good, making ill choice of particulers to whoſe truſt he commended that buſineſſe, ſome of them being Proteſtants, ſome Papiſts; ſo that the King may bee ſaid to build with one hand, and to caſt downe with another, to reforme Religion and to deforme it againe. And therefore this aduice I dare giue the beſt Prince in the world. *Let thoſe you loue beſt, and truſt moſt, be one in themſelues and one with their Soueraigne, and worke not vpon the foundation Truth by contrarie meanes, for hee that ſo buildeth, buildeth Babel, that is, confuſion, and not the walles of Ieruſalem.*

The Kings error.

Obſeruations

Obſeruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

Diuine. FIRST, to intertaine and beginne a Religious worke, is both an honourable and a holy attempt, but to finiſh it is more, becauſe it is poſſible, that vnworthy men may vndertake and retire: But *Pietie*, is not *Pietie*, if not conſtant. For *no vertue is rewarded but perſeuerance.*

Secondly, To faint in the proſecution of a Religious cauſe, is of all cowherdice the moſt ſhamefull and recreant, becauſe in all ſuch quarrells. God is our Generall, and doth arme his ſouldiers in compleate ſecurity.

Pollitique. Thirdly, A *Prince* that hath many about his perſon, cannot but muſt haue much difference in their quallities: his pollitique parte is to obſerue, and iudge the difference, and to diſtinguiſh them to ſuch ſeruice in the State, as may make them emulous to exceede, and not enuious to extirpe the proſperi-

prosperities of one another.

Fourthly, It hath beene thought good *Pollicie*, that in a Senate or Counsell of State, it were good to haue men of oppoſite Iudgement, becauſe it doth prouoke both factions, from exact declaration of their beſt indeauours. This, in a ſtate meerely pollitique may haue pretence, but in a Religious State it hath none; becauſe it is impoſſible to goe to one God, in one truth, by contrarie ſteppes.

Fifthly, It were diſhonourable and dangerous for a Prince, that hath his ſtate free, and in quiet to diſſemble or to deuide himſelfe to contrarieties, becauſe hee that doth not declare himſelfe certaine to one, doth remaine ſuſpected of all, and doth giue a generall hope to generall varieties.

Sixthly, The errour and vice is greater in retyring from vertuous proceedings, then the vertue is to vndertake them. For wee are tempted by all reaſon to vndertake them, but by none to leaue them. *Morall.*

Seuenthly,

Seuenthly, Hee that compoſeth himſelfe of contrarieties, doth weare a monſtrous Shape; for humanitie and ciuill Societie is bound to the Rules of vertue, as *Pietie and Religion* to the Rules of GOD.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of the ſixe Articles, and the euill that thereof inſued.

FIRST, the originall cauſe of this euill was pretended to be a remedy, againſt the many Sects of Religion, which then began to multiply, when Religion was in reſtoring; the State whereof being vnſetled, gaue occaſion that many buſie Spirits, according to their ſeuerall Iudgements, would diuerſly determine, what was the true forme of Gods Seruice, and what was not, whereof it came to paſſe, that many idle and groſſe opinions, had many that would ſtifly adheare to this or that, according as their blinde iudgements did direct them. For it hath euer beene and euer will be, the nature of

The cauſe pretended of the ſixe Articles.

The cauſe of many groſſe and ſenceleſſe opinions.

of the worſt vnderſtanding people, to deſire innouation, and euer to affect that moſt, which hath moſt ſingularity, euer oppoſing the iudgement of the learned, and the power of lawfull authority; and this is a naturall *Antipathy* betweene the baſe and the Noble, the fooliſh and the wiſe, the bad and the better ſort of people.

The nature of the Vulgar

An euil cure

Secondly, To cure this diſeaſe in the State of England, was very needfull, but the care they applyed was both vnlawfull, and very preiudiciall, laying ſuch ſalue to the ſoare, as made the wound wider, and the griefe much more ſenſible. For if wee remember the whole ſtorie of *King Henries* Life, there is not any other Act that euer paſſed the conſent of a Parliament, ſo diſhonourable to the King, and of like offence to the *Catholike Faith*, as was this of the ſixe Articles, eſpecially then when the King had ſet his Princely hand to the worke of reformation; whereby he did (in a manner) diſclaiming his former proceedings, pulling downe the holy frame, which with ſo much labour hee had formerly erected.

Sixe Articles.

Thirdly,

The power of perſwaſion.

Thirdly, Yet ſo ſtrong is the power of perſwaſion, eſpecially in them wee truſt, as that oftentimes wee ſuffer our ſelues to be led to thoſe ends, that greatly diſaduantage vs. And this is well ſeene in this Act of the Kings, which in truth did altogether tend to the pleaſure of euill men about him, and not to his honour, nor the good of his Kingdomes; he being thus perſwaded by *Stephen Gardiner* pretending thereby a prouident good, but intending fire, blood, and perſecution to the cauſe of Religion, and to the holy Profeſſors thereof.

Fourthly, For theſe Articles (whereto the King did inioyne his Subiects to confirme them) were all of them contrary to the *Catholike Faith* of the *Proteſtants Religion*, being no better then the Ladders whereby the *Biſhops of Rome*, haue aſcended the ſtepps of reputation, and worldly greatneſſe; ſome of them being for his gaine, others for his regard, all of them the limmes of *Pollicie*, and none of them proportionable to the rule of the *Catholike Religion*. And therefore was *Stephen Gardiner* much deceiued, when hee thought

thought to square out Truth, by false Rules; making these Articles to iudge who was in the *Catholike Faith*, yet these themselues not *Catholike*, but rather worldly inuentions and trickes of *Pollicie*.

The sixe Articles what they were.

1. The first, auowing Transubstantiation, a doctrine as new as the name, and but of late yeares inuented.

2. The second, denied the Sacrament to be exhibited in both kinds to Lay-men, contrarie both to the commandement of Christ at the first institution, as also contrary to the practise of the *Primitiue Church* for many hundreds of yeares.

3. The third, that Priests ought not to marrie, contrary to *Saint Paules* opinion, the practise of the Church, and the iudgement of holy Scripture.

4. The fourth, that vowes ought to be kept, and this hath onely a respect to a pollitique end, being that foundation whereupon is builded their monasteries, and the wicked rabble of lazie Fryers, and Nunnes.

5. The fifth, that priuate Masses were necessarie, and agreeable to Gods Word: an inuention,

uention to get money onely, and ridiculous to the iudgement of all learning.

The ſixth, of the neceſſity of auriculer confeſſion. A *Pollitique* deuiſe whereby the *Pope* hath vnderſtanding in all ſtates, making his Prieſts intelligences, and binding the conſciences of Chriſtians, to that ſlauerie, from which God hath made them free. And theſe were thoſe Articles, which were made the Tryers of Chriſtian Religion, whereto euery man was to giue his conſent, or elſe to haue the iudgement of law as fellons, being adiudged (by the ſentence of the Church) *Heretickes*, caſt out from the fauour of God, and from the ſociety of the *Catholike Church*. 6.

Fifthly, By this then may appeare the euill that redounds to a ſtate when the Counſell of a Prince is deuided, not conſpiring one but diuers ends, eſpecially then; when the Prince puts off the power of his Maieſtie, and ſuffers himſelfe to be led by the eaſie perſwaſions of them neere him by his fauour. For if the King had had as much the ſpirit of Diuinitie, as he had of Maieſtie, *The euil that redounds to a State when the Counſell are diuided.*

he would neuer haue had both a *Cranmer*, *and a Gardiner*, a *Cromwell* and a *Moore*, to order him in the affaires of his Church and kingdome. But according as he had bene reſolued in *Religion* he would only haue made choice of ſuch for his counſell, as had conſpired one and the ſame end with him their Soueraigne, neither is it good in the wiſedome of ſtate, to entertaine them neere vs in loue and place, whom we finde to farre from vs in the opinion of *Truth*, becauſe there is no obligation, can make ſuch men aſſured, that worke to bring vs to a courſe againſt our purpoſe, giuing vs the reines onely ſo farre as may leade vs to their deſired ends.

The care of State.

Sixthly, If this man and his euil practiſe had not preuailed more with the King then the better perſwaſion of the Lord *Cranmer* and *Cromwell*, the reformation of Religion had not beene letted in ſo hopefull a proceeding, neither had the King and Parlyament paſſed any ſuch Act ſo bloodie, as was this of the ſixe Articles: whereby the King did blurre the honour of that reputation he had formerly gotten, and retyred himſelfe in the

Gardiner *the meanes to hinder the King from reformation.*

purſuite

purſuite of that enterprize, which worthily had made him very famous. And this doth proue the greatneſſe of his euill wit, that made this alteration in the Kings Nature, and doubtleſſe if God had giuen this man grace to haue loued honeſtie and truth; he had many other quallities of good commendation, which would haue bene moſt flouriſhing in a man of holy life, as his learning, wit, and ſpirit, whereby he was well fitted to trauell in State buſineſſe, but miſapplying thoſe to vngodly ends, they were the defects and blemiſhes in the perſon that ſo had them, and very peſtilent to the State where ſuch men haue authority.

Gardiners *wit.*

Gardiners *giſts.*

Seuenthly, And if we remember the time of theſe ſixe Articles, we ſhall finde it plentifull in the Records of *Holy Martyrs*, that ſhed their blood in oppoſition of that falſe doctrine, neither wanted they ſome likewiſe at that time that ſuffered death in defence of the *Popes Supremacie*. So that the Religion then profeſt in England, was neither that of the *Proteſtant*, nor this of the *Papiſt*, for at that time one and the ſame Law, did

The Religiõ at this time in England, was neither the Proteſtãt nor the Papiſt

denounce Iudgement againſt the maintainers of both kindes, condemning the *Proteſtant* for not ſubſcribing to the ſixe Articles, and the *Papiſt* for not allowing the Kings *Supremacie*. And therefore good cauſe had he of admiration, who ſeeing at this time in England three *Proteſtants* and three *Papiſts* to die at one time, and in one place, and by the ſentence of one Law, for their conſcience, admireth thus: *Deus bone, quomodo hic viuunt gentes, hic ſuſpenduntur Papiſtæ, illic comburuntur Antepapiſtæ. Ieſus ſaith hee) how doe men liue here, for there hangs the Papiſt, and heere burnes the Proteſtant for Religion.*

Three Proteſtants and three Papiſts die at one time and in one place for their Conſcience.

Acts and Mon pag. 1375.

Eighthly, And this came to paſſe becauſe the Kings counſell, were deuided into parts, one halfe *Proteſtants*, the other *Papiſts*. The *Proteſtants* maintaining the Act for the kings *Supremacie*. The *Papiſts* that of the ſixe Articles, either partie executing the iudgemét of the Lawe, according as in their ſeuerall opinions they were affected: whereof inſued the greateſt calamitie that could be in a Chriſtian State, no man making conſcience of Religion in either profeſſion that eſca-

The Kings Counſell, the one halfe Proteſtants the other Papiſts.

The miſerie of theſe times

ped

ped punishment, onely such were free and vnder protection, who either did dissemble, or conforme them to the fashion of the time. And this had not bene if the Prince and his Lords had conspired one end, for take vnity away, you take *Truth* with it, and disagreements doe most assuredly presage losse if not destruction.

Tolle vnum, tolle verum.

Ninthly, But God who denied to his seruãt *Dauid* the building of his Temple, because his hands had bene in blood, and did reserue the honour of that worke for *Salomon* his Sonne, a *Prince* of peace; So in this work of reformation. God would not King *Henrie* to effect it, because he had bene in blood, and Warre, as was *Dauid Salomons* Father, but he reserues it for King *Edward*, a true *Salomon* in the wisedome and iustice of *Salomon*; And this Prince did God ordaine to restore the truth of his seruice. King *Henrie* his Father (as did *Salomons* Father) preparing onely matter for this heauenly worke, which his Princely Sonne and not himselfe was to finish.

2 Sam. 7. 5.

God would not that K. Henry *but that King* Edward *should finish this reformation.*

Tenthly, And howsoeuer King *Henry* did not

not go forward to this worke with that conſtancie, as the worthineſſe of the cauſe deſerued: being letted by the enuie of euill Miniſters, yet hath he well deſerued honourable remembrance, hauing done more than any other Prince in Chriſtendome before him euer did. And if wee conſider the kings Nature (being moſt reſolute and ſtiffe in any buſineſſe he vndertooke) there neuer was any of his *Predeceſſors* better fitted to enter into ſuch a buſineſſe of ſtomacke as hee was, neither can it be ſaid truely of the king that he failed in this enterpriſe, for he performed all he vndertooke, and would haue done more if either his own opinion, or the counſell of his friend, had further directed him. And therefore hath he done honourably, in doing more than before was done, and in doing all he had vndertaken, wherein he exceeded the expectation that all men had of him, it being a matter thought impoſſible, to preuaile (in this) againſt the *Pope*, at this time a power ſo abſolute, as that both kings and Emperours, had before failed in the like attempt.

King Henry *deſerued well in doing more then was done before him by any other.*

The King exceeded expectation.

Eleuenthly,

Eleuenthly, And therefore I verily beleiue that God by his extraordinary power was with *King Henrie*, making him (in this) inuincible and powerfull to preuaile in iuſt oppoſition, he looking downe with his eyes of iudgement, vpon the pride and open wickedneſſe of Papacie, and hating that the order of his ſeruice ſhould be ſo corrupted, incites and aſſiſts the king, to reforme what the iniquity of others had deformed, ſo groſſe and ſenceleſſe was the Liturgie of the Church in thoſe blacke daies of ignorance and blinde ſuperſtition, as would grieue any true Catholike Chriſtian to conſider, and ſhame the better ſort of *Papiſts* themſelues to remember. And therefore it is reaſon we acknowledge our dutifull thankes to God for altering this ſtate of miſery, into a condition moſt happie and proſperous: and that we honour their remembrance, whom God did vſe as fit inſtruments to this holy and moſt Religious worke.

God aſſiſted the King.

The Kings deſert.

Obſeruations { *Diuine.* / *Pollitique.* / *Morall.*

Diuine.

FIRST, It doth not conclude, but it doth argue againſt *Pietie* and the *Truth* of Religion, where there is ſeuerity in execution. For as God is both moſt iuſt and moſt mercifull; So all Eccleſiaſticall proſecutions muſt haue temper, and indifferent mixture.

Secondly, *Calamities, Death, and perſecutions* cannot effect that in the Catholike Church, which they commonly effect in *Pollitique States*; to the one they are a cauſe of decay and ruine; to the other of inlargement, for there is difference in the forme of Gods generall prouidence, and of the particular care of his Church.

Thirdly, To ordaine or decree *Articles, Canons, or Statutes* to iudge and binde the conſcience, it is neceſſary to be directed by ſpirituall inſtruction. For though authority be in euery Prince, yet iudgement is not.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, It is dangerous for a *Prince* to commit the forming of ſpirituall conſtitutions, to diſagreeing mindes; for diuerſity of opinions (when it goeth by ſuffrage) doth vtterly deſtroy the ſincerity of al cōcluſions.

Fifthly, It hath bene and is the *Pollitique* practiſe of the Romane State, to ſupport the bodie of her greatneſſe with moſt terrible perſecutions, the effect doth iudge the cauſe, and that pollicie is found wicked, in the daily fall and leſſening, of that antichriſtian Empire. *Pollitique.*

Sixthly, Tolleration of Religion, is (in ſome States) reputed a neceſſarie pollicie, but a Religious *Prince* that doth loue God more then State, can neuer tollerate that pollicie, for God doth hate all conniuencie, and hee is lame in truth, that halteth betweene two opinions.

Seuenthly, It is neceſſary wiſedome for a *Prince*, to make difference betweene obedient and diſobedient ſubiects, in the caſe of Religion, yet is there a great difference to be had in puniſhing diſobedient opinions, and diſobedient facts.

Eighthly,

Eighthly, It doth much reſpect a mans particuler happineſſe, to auoide ſingularitie, and not eaſily to bee drawne from the common opinion: becauſe, (naturally) we haue a liking of our ſelues, and a diſlike of others.

Morall.

Ninthly, To a ciuill happineſſe, is required to be able to beare all fortunes, and not to contemne them. For it is not poſſible for *Fortune* with her infinite occaſions, to ſubduce the greatneſſe of a vertuous minde.

Tenthly, A vertuous diſpoſition cannot be ſuppreſt by oppoſition, for there is nothing can ſtrength *Patience* but exerciſe.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Obſeruations out of the generall view of this latter time of King Henries *Reigne.*

FIRST, the importance of this difference betweene the King of England and the *Pope*, was ſuch as that all Chriſtendome, had earneſt expectation what would be the iſſue of ſo ſtrange an oppoſition; it being thought very dangerous in the King, to oppoſe himſelfe againſt a power ſo generall, as the *Pope* then was, and in a quarrell wherein no Prince in Chriſtendome would aſſiſt him. And doubtleſſe in reſpect of State practiſe, the attempt was very hazerdous, and of little hope to bring it to that honourable end, as (by the fauour of God) hee did wherein the

The difficultie in the Kings attempt.

the King did exceede the expectation of all men ſaue himſelf, and erected the Trophyes of his honour higher, then any one before him durſt reach. And therefore this dangerous (but honourable attempt, was not by the prouidence of State, or by any earthly wiſedome but by the power of heauen, God leading him thorough many dangers, and vnlikelihoods, to an end moſt holy and honourable, whereby God would ſeeme to make the worke his owne, and to denie to *Pollicie*, and the vaine contriuements of men, the honour thereof, who (commonly) proud themſelues to much in their owne opinion of wiſedome, which with God is found lighter, than vanitie and follie it ſelfe.

This oppoſition was ordered by the power of God.

The wiſedome of pollicie is fooliſhneſſe with God.

Secondly, For the Kings particular, it may appeare how much hee did hazard the peace, and fortunes of his kingdome, in giuing aduantage to them that loued him not, to combine with his great enemie the *Pope*, who with all diligence ſought to make the King odious to all other Princes, ſowing the ſeedes of enuie in the hearts of all men, againſt this practiſe of the Kings, curſing him from

The King gaue aduantage to his enemies.

from the fauour of God, and traducing him with all dishonor, his euill practise could deuise. And this in those times was great disaduantage; because the greater parte of the Kings Subiects thought they were in conscience bound, to obey the *Popes* Censure, whereby the Kings strength (being deuided in it selfe) became weake, & by this meanes was the kingdome made fit for forraigne inuasion. For this is generall in the practise of all states, that where wee purpose Warre, there we must haue faction, for faction is the first part of Conqueſt; because there is no opposition more resolute, then that which is neerest to it selfe; and therefore of all Warre the ciuill is most dangerous, being led by the greatest furie of hate, and the continuall offer of occasions.

The Popes Curses vpon King Henry

The power of the Popes censure.

Faction the first part of Conqueſt.

Thirdly, Againe the seuerall Kingdomes of Christendome at this time were come to that equality of power, as made them enuiously regard one another; not as in the time of the Romane Emperors, subordinate to one absolute *Prince* of all, neither as in the time before them, when as that which is now

A second Reason.

The equall partage of Chriſtendome to many Princes.

now but one, was many ſeuerall kingdomes. So equall was the partage to Chriſtian Princes at this time, and euery State had need to feare the greatnes of his neighbour, and to take the leaſt aduantage to leſſon him in his reputation and ſtrength, eſpecially then, when the power of any one, became extraordinarie; or their reputation in Armes ſo fortunate, as might threaten their Neighbour Nations.

The care of thoſe times

Fourthly, This was the care of thoſe times, and in particular a matter moſt conſiderable, betweene thoſe two famous kingdomes of *England* and *France*, which Nations (what by reaſon of the King of *Englands* claime to the Crowne of France, as alſo being both of them prouoked with enuious honour, to exceede each other in the honour, of armes;) there hath often bene emulation, and difference, betweene theſe neighbour Nations, neuer (almoſt) concluding peace, but for *pollicie*, ſometimes making Seſſation from Warre, that they might againe beginne with greater violence: and therefore would they euer combine themſelues

England and France in continuall faction.

A pollitique regard.

ſelues with ſuch, when the enemies had moſt reaſon to feare, as *England* would confederate with *Spaine*, and *France* with *Scotland*, the neighbours of each other, being moſt enuious one of another. The wiſedome of State truſting them beſt, who liue furtheſt from vs, becauſe they are leaſt able to hurt vs. The King then may be thought by making the *Pope* his enemie, not onely to giue great aduantage to his enemie the *French*, but alſo to deuide himſelfe from the loue of all Chriſtian Princes, the *Spanyards* and all other his confederates, for all theſe were deuided from him by his diuiſion, no Prince daring to ſupport him againſt the ſentence of the *Pope*. And therefore the King was ruled by a greater power then that of *Pollicie*, by the power of God, which made him both vſefull and very excellently fit to finiſh this holy buſineſſe.

England with Spaine, France with Scotland cõfederates.

The aduantage the French had of the Engliſh, by reaſon of this popiſh quarrell.

God and not pollicie ordered the king.

Fifthly, Againe, in reſpect of the Pope, this buſineſſe is very conſiderable, as that which for the length of many yeares, did moſt importune him, being the firſt ſteppe of his diſcent, from the honour of his vniuerſall

Conſiderations in reſpect of the Pope.

ſall power, which to himſelfe he had appropriate. For he could not but foreſee the danger, whereinto he fell, if the Kings attempt ſucceeded, who ſought to degrade him from his vſurped authority: and hee might thinke that other Princes hauing this preſident, might happily attempt as much as King *Henry* had done, eſpecially conſidering the controuerſie was for regallity, which of all earthly things is moſt deſired, eſpecially by them who haue loftie place, and whoſe ſpirits are moſt free and generous. And this needed ſpeciall preuention in the *Pope*, conſidering the enuie his greatneſſe had procured him, and the generall diſlike was had of his too much authority, which hee vſed not for the peace of the *Catholike Church*, but vnto many vngodly ends, whereto the *Popes* many times aſpired.

The Pope degraded of authority.

The Kings example dãgerous for the Pope.

The Pope enuied of Chriſtian Princes.

Sixthly, And therefore did it much import the *Pope*, to make vp the breach King *Henrie* had made, and to calme thoſe troubled Seas, that threaten wracke and deſolation to his higheſt authorities. And ſurely there wanted not any diligence the *Pope* could

The Popes diligence.

could vse, to make vp this Rent the king had made, yet was it done with such respect to the *Popes* greatnes, as that the king should rather in his obedience seeke it, then the *Pope* out of any demonstration of feare offer it, so respectfull was this man of earthly Maiesty, and honour, as hee forgot the vse of piety and humblenesse, quallities that (of necessity) are tyed to the persons of all that truly be Religious.

The respect the Pope had to the dishonorable yealding.

Seuenthly, In these respects it did much respect the *Pope* to continue a friendly intertainement with *England*, and not to loose a Member whereof the whole bodie had such vse, which had supported him many times against the power of his greatest enemies, especially in the time of such a Prince, who had published his loue in print, not onely to defend the *Pope*, but also the lawfullnesse of his vniuersall power, which vniuersally was disliked. King *Henrie* offering himselfe with his two friends *Mars* & *Mercurie*, the Word, and the sword, to defend him against all opposition. And therefore the *Pope* to loose such a friend, such a king, and such a defence,

How it did import the Pope to continue friendly intertainement with the King.

The Pope lost the King by his too much neglect & pride.

by his too much neglect, and ſcorne to ſatisfie the trouble of that Kings Conſcience, may be thought in his iudgement fooliſh, in his life wicked, and in his downefale worthily punished, and that God willed it, the king wrought it, and the *Pope* in deſpight ſuffered it, to the Glory of God, the kings honour, and the confuſion of Antichriſt.

Authority in an euill perſon ruines it ſelfe.

Eighthly, From this ouerſight of the *Popes*, this may be obſerued: that authority and greatneſſe in an euill perſon, ruines it ſelfe with his owne weight; neither can the greatneſſe of power ſtand ſafe, where it is not ſupported by the ſtrength of iuſtice, and honeſt proceeding. And that (as *Byas* ſaith) *promotions declare beſt what a man is*. So it is true, that where authority is ſo abſolute, that there is liberty without checke. Then doe men giue beſt demonſtrations of their Natures, and moſt apparently diſcouer their affections, and to what ends they are moſt inclined. For by the worke we may iudge the workeman, by the fruit of the Tree, and by the life, the truth, and holy faith of euerie man.

A ſaying of Byas.

How to iudge men.

Ninthly,

Ninthly, Againe, vpon this proud and ambitious Bishop, may bee obserued, how God confounds him in his owne practise, he contriueth to make the King of *England* his fast friend, & his prop, wherupon to support his vnpeakeable pride; but God he determines otherwise of that King; and leades him to a worke more holy, honest, and honourable. The *Pope* in pollicie intitles him *Defendor of the Catholike Faith*, becauſe hee writ in defence of his vsurped *Supremacie*, But God maketh him and his (in deeds) to defend the true faith, and to denie that *Supremacie*. So that what the *Pope* would haue, God will not haue, hee commandeth, God countermandeth, he deuiseth, God disposeth and maketh the King shoote right, whom the *Pope* made to leuell wrong. But before all may bee obserued the *Popes* false vnderstanding iudgement, in this case (in respect of *Piety* and conscience) how much he was led from the truth of Religion, and from the witnesse of Truth (Gods Word) to maintaine his vniuersall power, which his predecessors had by state practise gotten.

God confoundeth the Popes pollicie

God and the Pope vtterly disagree.

Papall supremacie gotten by state practise

For it cannot be but in this, their iudgements were exceedingly blinded, they hauing no example of any Church at any time for their imitation. When the Law was giuen, God gaue it *Moſes*, to giue *Aaron* & the people, & not *Aron* to giue *Moſes* & the people, & in euery cauſe both of ſtate & Religion *Aron* the Prieſt was obedient to *Moſes* the Prince, hee receiuing the dignity of his office from *Moſes*, vnto whom God gaue power to giue it.

Tenthly, The like order was in the Iewiſh Church, where the Prince might iudge the Prieſt, and not the Prieſt the Prince; and ſo in the practiſe of all times, and in all places, vntill that CHARLES the Great, breathed the ſpirit of Ambition where it is, and where it hath for many yeares diſturbed the peace of Chriſtendome: yet with ſuch euidence was this error laid open, to the vniuerſall eye of the world, by the diligence of *Martin Luther* and others, as the *Pope* could not but vnderſtand it: yet againſt the witneſſe of his owne conſcience, did he ſtill ſtifly defend it, and this was a pollitique regard, leaſt the world vnderſtanding him to faile in a matter

Charles *the Great father of the Popes ambition.*

Luther.

A reaſon of the Popes obſtinacie.

ter ſo important, might thereupon call in queſtion the truth of that opinion, (which in truth) is the ſtate and ſtrength of that Religion. *That in precept and doctrine the Pope cannot erre*, if then he had yeelded to haue erred in this, he denied the truth of his foundation, without which his greatneſſe cannot ſtand.

A principall of Papiſtrie.

Eleuenthly, And therefore (after the faſhion of antient heretickes) he would not yeeld to the perſwaſion of truth, becauſe he would not haue his iudgement contradicted, and ſhamed (by recantation to acknowledge himſelfe to haue done amiſſe:) And this is onely the pride and Stomacke of the too much authority of theſe Biſhops, that reſpect greatneſſe more then goodnes, the world more then God, falſhood than truth, deſiring darkeneſſe to obſcure the manie deformities, wherewith they haue defaced the name of Chriſtian Religion.

The faſhion of antient Heretickes.

The pride of the Pope.

Twelfthly, By this wee may learne to diſtinguiſh the good and euill, the holy and prophane by their end, whereto they principally aſpire; for good men make goodneſſe their

To know how to diſtinguiſh good and euil by their ends

their onely end whereto they reach, but euil men make it onely their pretence, and like the Lapwing, flie moſt where there Neſt is not, and ſuch hath bene the care of the Romane Church, intituling their Biſhops, ſeruants of Gods ſeruants, yet arrogate principallity ouer the higheſt of Gods Creatures; They profeſſe humility and Chriſtian obedience, but practiſe a tyrannie vnſupportable. They call Chriſtian Princes their beloued ſonnes, but make them ſlaues, and ſeruants to their vngodly wills. And from them hath the world learned diſſimulation & cunning practiſe; for wee ſee that many men forme themſelues very preciſely, in the habit of all Chriſtian duties outwardly to gaine a reputation, and the honour of high place, which (when they haue obtained) they caſt off that face of holines, and diſcouer themſelues in their true inuentions, ſuch was (and ſtill is) the practiſe of *Popes*, who by the formes of holineſſe, haue got a reputation in the world, which at length came to the growth, that it became like *Nabuchadnezzars* Tree, to couer the whole earth, and to ſpread

The Pope intituleth himſelfe the ſeruant of Gods ſeruants but inſulteth ouer Emperors.

Diſſimulation commonly in.

The Popes greatneſſe like Nebuchadnezzars *Tree couered the whole Earth.*

it

it ouer all principality; & then in the height of that prosperity, they cast off their vizard, and discouer themselues to be but *Pope*, and not Pastors, casting from them the Word, that they may with more dexterity vse the sword, with which (like Theeues) they Rob Christian Princes of that Regality, which God gaue them.

When great dissemblers dare discouer themselues.

13. And therefore King *Henries* proceedings were very considerable, whereof it behoued the *Pope* to be verie regardfull, as did threaten the ruine of that frame, which the pride and pollicie of his predecessors had erected: & the rather because the king began at the top of his dignities, to throw downe his Supremacie, which had ouertopped the most soueraigne of al Christian power whatsoeuer. And herein the King may seeme to vnderstand well what he had to doe, for by striking the roote he was sure to perish the branches; and the best way to ruine a house, is to vndermine the foundation, & in Warre the victory is sure, when the enemie hath lost that power wherein his chiefe strength consisted: and so the body of Popery must needs

The Kings proceedings very important.

The Kings orderly proceeding.

The bodie of Popery must needs fall when Supremacie the head was cut off.

needs ſucceſſiuely periſh when the head was off, which fortunately ſo fell out, to the great happineſſe of the Engliſh Nation.

The importance of this buſineſſe in reſpect of forraigne States.

14. The importance of this buſineſſe, in reſpect of forraigne ſtates may thus appeare. The ſeuerall kingdomes in Chriſtendome were at that time (as I haue ſaid) ſo neere in equallity of power, that when difference aroſe betweene any two, the *Pope* according to his fauour, would either compound them or elſe beare a part; whereby hee did both inrich his ſtate, and alſo got ſuch eſtimation, as made him generally feared, and that his fauour was with much inſtance ſought for. And this was cauſed by a reuerence that men then had to holines; ſo that they commonly in all great matters, referred themſelues to be vmpired by the *Pope*, hee euer making their conditions ſuch, as to make himſelfe a gainer, both by their difference, and agreement. And though his fauour in this kinde was not deſired, yet would he intrude his diligence into euery ſuch buſineſſe, and confederate with one partie, whereby he often gaue the victory at his pleaſure.

The Popes fauour of great importance.

The reuerẽce men had then to Religion.

The Popes power.

15. And

15. And therefore no maruaile though all men desired to keepe good fauour with him, who could turne the ballance where-soeuer he should please to touch; yet so hatefull was this to euery noble spirit, as made the *Pope* much enuied, many desirous to haue his hornes cut shorter, yet no man daring to touch them; so dangerous was this beast to deale withall, as no Prince before King *Henrie*, durst put the bridle in his teeth, and restraine him (as he did) from his course of Riot, and too much liberty.

The Popes greatnesse made him enuied.

16. This authority in a man thus ambitious, kept in the spirits of men from attempting that they desired; euery man after the *Pollicie* of state, adhering to him whom they found best able to support them; shewing friendly intertainement to him, whom in their hearts they hated, bearing that with patience, which they could not helpe, and (according as their wisdomes could frame it) sometimes applying him to seruiceable vses, sometimes seruants themselues to his vses, according to the much diuersitie of state businesse.

The iealosie and wisdome of those times

17. For

The Christian Princes stood mute at the Kings businesse.

17. For these respects the Christian world stood mute at the Kings businesse, no man daring to set to his helping hand, so much danger their iudgements could see in attempting it, as that all could bee content to be spectators. but no actor like King *Henry*, euery man hauing earnest expectation, what would be the issue of so strange and hazerdous an enterprize.

The French had at this time aduantage of the English by reason of the Pope.

18. It is also very considerable, that the French King had at this time aduantage offered him, against the King of England. The King being now in the heate of so great a businesse, deuided from his confederate the *Pope*, vnassisted by any forraigne state, and in the danger of domesticke troubles, whereby he was vnfurnished of a great part of his former strength: And considering also the honour the Kings of England had got, by the conquest of France, & the strong emulation of those two Neighbour Nations; being both of them enuious of one anothers reputation, and greatnesse: the *English* being euer fortunate in those French quarrells, and the *French* most desirous to

England and France enuious of one anothers glorie.

sup

ſuppreſſe the growing reputation of the *Engliſh*. And therefore it may ſeeme, at this time was offered an occaſion to the *French*, to recouer their reputation in Armes, and to repoſſeſſe thoſe places, which the *Engliſh* then held in France; yet for all theſe occaſions, ſo fortunate was the King and his people, as no miſ-fortune at that time did diſaduantage our Nation. God protecting it againſt the euill, and beyond the expectation of all men.

The King fortunate.

19. And laſtly, the King ſending his Embaſſadours to all Chriſtian Princes, to giue them ſatisfaction; for that he had done, was a care very Princely and Chriſtian, for by this he preuented, the many ſlanderous conſtructions that otherwiſe would haue cenſured him; he himſelfe by his Embaſſadours, declaring the true purpoſe of his enterprize. And this was a demonſtration, that the king reputed ſuch whom he deſired to ſatisfie as his kingly Brethren, and that all of them being powers, immediately vnder God, in their owne Chriſtian Kingdomes, it was reaſon he ſhould giue them a Chriſtian ſatisfaction,

The Kings care to ſatisfie the Princes of Chriſtendome.

The reaſon thereof.

A politique discretion.

ction, that he proceeded not in these differences, without the perswasion of Learned, and Religious iudgement, neither was it euill order in the King to haue first effected what he ment, and then to satisfie opinion. For if hee had sent for their aduise before hee had attempted it, he had then lost the honour of the enterprise, and had either tied himselfe to the pleasures of other men, or else haue opposed against them all, the first had bene dishonorable; the other very dangerous.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

In what State King Henrie *left his Kingdomes to the next Defendor of the Faith, King* Edward *the Sixth.*

FIRST, it may ſeeme ſtrange to him that ſhall reade this Hiſtorie, to conſider the ſtate of Religion, in this laſt time of King *Henries* Reigne: Religion lying then as it were in equall ballance, inclinable to be ſweighed, according as ſhall pleaſe the next ſucceding Prince to fauour it. For as yet Religion was not reformed, but onely a preparation made for reformation; the King hauing taken from the *Pope* his Supremacie, and his vniuerſall authority, but not the number of his idle ceremonies, inſomuch as the

Religion at this time but in reforming

The Pope had his head broken.

the Pope may be ſaid to haue his head then broken, in looſing his authority; but his taile yet vnperiſht, reteining ſtill the number of his fabulous obſeruances. And if I were demanded what was the Religion then profeſt in England, I could not giue it name, being no better then a Farrago, or a Religion compounded of many diuers; the State being yet vnſetled, and but mouing to a reformation, for both that of the *Papiſt* and this of the *Proteſtant* indured like extremities.

Diuers lawmakers, diuers lawes.

Secondly, And the reaſon was, becauſe the lawes then in force, were occaſioned by men diuers in opinion, yet neere in the greatneſſe of place, either part perſecuting or proſecuting according to their ſeuerall affections. So that men zealous in any profeſſion of Religion, were in danger of Law, and ſuch (onely) ſecure that made their conſcience yeeld to generall practiſe, and opinion, whereby the beſt and moſt conſcionable, had leaſt fauour in the iudgement of thoſe lawes, & whereby the Common-Wealth did often loſe her moſt vſefull members,

The euill gouernement of the ſtate at this time.

members, to the detriment of State, and against all aduice both of pollicie and pietie.

Thirdly, For that the King was of himselfe otherwise inclined, may appeare both by the testimonie of them, neere his person, as also by the witnesse of his owne words, as in particuler to *Bruno*, Embassadour from *Iohn Fredericke Duke of Saxonie*, to whom imploring his aide against the *Emperour*; hee answered, that if the quarrell betweene him, and the Emperor, were onely for Religion, he should then stand to it stoutly, and hee would in that quarrell take his part.

The King himselfe otherwise inclined.

D. of Saxony

Master Fox *Act. and Mon. pag.* 1478.

Fourthly, It may appeare also by the kings dislike of such men as had withheld his forwardnesse to reforme, as in speciall *Stephen Gardiner*, whom the king now found to contriue against him, and to haue haled him on to those ends he most disliked. And therfore the King (before his death) did withdraw his fauour from him. And howsoeuer he forgaue him the forfeit of his life, yet did hee for euer after discountenance him, causing his name to bee rased out of the number of *Executors*, to whose trust hee had com-

The Kings dislike of Gardiner

commend the execution of his last will. Besides the repentance and sorrow, the King made for the Lord *Cromwells* death, whom he had found so faithfull and fit for this businesse as neuer any Prince was better furnished: the King finding the want of so choice an instrument, would often (in griefe of words) say, hee wanted his *Cromwell* in so needfull a businesse as he had vndertaken.

The repentance & sorrow the King made for the Lord Cromwell,

Fifthly, And therefore assuredly the king had good affection to reforme the enormious abuses of the Church, and to haue purged it from all Idolatrous seruice. But God reseruing that for the honour of Prince *Edward*, the next Defendor, accepted of the Kings good purpose. And that God who gaue him will to desire well, and his sonne the honour to finish well, gaue them both (we trust) his grace to die well, & to breath their soules into his hands of mercie. And in these tearmes did the king leaue the state to the next Defendor his Princely Sonne, a state full of storme and great businesse, hauing entred so farre into an honourable passage, as that the Prince, who was to inherit

The Kings affection.

How the K. left the state.

rit his Fathers cares, could not in the termes of honour but second the most honourable attempt of his Father.

Whether the King defended the faith or not.

Sixthly, It may bee demanded now whether King *Henrie* (according to his new stile) did defend the Catholike Faith or not, and in what particulars he best defended it. For it may be obiected, that the King not hauing reformed Religion, but only in some few particulars hath not merited the honour of his stile, because the Catholike Faith was not so defended in his time, and in his kingdome, but it indured much affliction. To this I answer, that howsoeuer the king did faile in the maine execution of his office, yet cõsidering the greatnes of his attempt, he hath wel deserued euerlasting memorie, & to be recorded the first Christian king *Defendor of the Faith*, & the first that with honour & victory, dared to oppose himself against the spiritual power of the *Popes*, & if we consider the danger of his attempt, we shall finde it an act of great spirit & consequence, and such as may worthily compare with the deeds of antient *Romanes*, which were of most admiration and wonder.

Obiection.

The King the first Christian King Defendor of the Faith.

The King defended the Faith in two particulars.

Seuenthly, And in theſe two particulars hath he principally defended the Catholike Faith. Firſt, in taking from the enemie of Faith, authority and greatnes (by the act of Supremacie) for this (as I haue ſaid) was the firſt ſtep to the *Popes* downefall; and therefore by disinabling the enemie of Faith hee did wel defend it. Secondly, in diſſoluing the wicked aſſemblies of euill men profeſſing religion, the Fryers & Monkes, he therein performed the dutie of his Chriſtian office, becauſe theſe men did not onely by their euill life, diſgrace the Chriſtian profeſſion, but like drones idle themſelues, yet prodigally ſpending the fatte of other mens labours: a double inconuenience to a Chriſtian ſtate. Firſt, in maintaining ſuch numbers of vnprofitable men. Secondly, in the euill waſting of that which might wel haue ſerued, the neceſſities of many profitable vſes.

A double inconuenience to a Chriſtian ſtate.

The King made way for his Sonne.

Eigthly, And therefore though king *Henrie* went forward in this holy buſines but ſlowly: yet laid he the paſſage open for his ſon, and diſarmed the enemie of his greateſt ſtrength whereby the next *Defendor* K. *Edward* might

the

the better take from this Thiefe the ſpoyles of Chriſtian Princes, wherewith he had made himſelfe appeare moſt glorious. And ſo did that princely *Edward*, to the glory of his God, and the perpetuall honor of his princely name.

King Edward *finiſhed what his Father had attempted.*

Ninthly, Now if I ſhould compare theſe two Defendors, the Father K. *Henrie*, and the Son K. *Edward* together, and determine, whether of them hath better merited, the honour of their new ſtile, I ſhall rather giue the palme to K. *Edward*, becauſe to finiſh a good, is more & more deſeruing then to begin it. For though king *Henrie* did deſerue well in acting his princely part of great Maieſty, yet did king *Edward* deſerue better, continuing the Sceane to the laſt period, euer acting one and the ſame part, and not diuers as did king *Henrie* his Father.

A compariſon betweene King Henry *and King* Edward.

To finiſh a good is more then to begin it.

Tenthly, Againe, if wee reſpect greatneſſe in their actions, the Father hath the greater preheminence; but if goodnes, the ſon hath the greater; the Father exceeding his Son, in reſpect of Maieſty, and bold attempting; but the Son his Father, in zealous proſecuting a

In reſpect of greatnes K. Henry *was more excellent, in reſpect of goodneſſe King* Edward.

holy cauſe begun. So that betweene theſe two, the Father and the Son, was ſhared both greatnes & goodnes; both of them hauing, both theſe in reaſonable proportion, and either exceeding other in his particular. King *Henry* the Father he taketh from the *Pope* the Idol of falſe religion, authority & wealth, by denying his Supremacie, and by ſuppreſſing of Monaſteries, theſe being his two legges, whereupon he did ſupport the body of his greatnes. The *Pope* wanting theſe ſupporters (Idol-like) falls to the ground where the king there leaueth him. But king *Edward* with better zeale entring Gods Houſe, and finding this Idol bodie, and idle body in the Church of *England*, caſteth out that body from the Church, which his Father left wounded in the Church, cleanſing the holy Sanctuary, which by falſe ſeruice had bene long prophaned. This holy *Edward* (in reſpect of his youth and great place) admirable for his wiſedome & holy life. And therfore did king *Henry* deſerue well, and ſomewhat defended the *Catholike Faith*. But king *Edward* deſerued better and defended it beſt.

King Henry *did wound Idolatry, but King* Edward *deſtroyed it.*

Obſeruations

Obseruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, It is no note of the Catholike Church, neither of piety, to inflict aduersity, disgrace, and death: but of the contrarie, For God doth giue to his owne these little demonstrations, to remember them his iudgements, and to make them the better relish eternall felicities. *Diuine.*

Secondly, God in the worke of his iudgements, doth indifferently vse the seruice of good and badd instruments, but in his mercies he doth euer imploy his best: for *Mercie* is his most excellent attribute, and doth reioyce against *Iudgement.*

Thirdly, It hath bene the most generall and the most *Pollitique* practise of our times, to disioyne a *Prince* from his power, and by *Faction* to make a *Fraction* in his state, for a faction doth euer destroy one parte, if not both. *Pollitique.*

Fourthly, It is a Court error, and (almost) com-

common in all States, that men with generall acclamation, applaude both the loue and hatred of the *Prince*, whereſoeuer hee ſhall place them; but a wiſe Prince will ſuſpect all ſuch aſſentations, becauſe they intend but to pleaſe, and not to profit.

Morall. Fifthly, He that would continue himſelfe in generall eſtimation muſt bee both actiue and paſſiue. For he that can ſuffer well is able to confound *Enuie*.

Sixthly, The ſame degrees of vertue are not giuen to all men alike, but to all men there is giuen a poſſibility of hauing vertues in ſome degree, becauſe to euery man is giuen an vnderſtanding ſoule, which may apprehend it.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

A Comparison betweene King Henrie *the Eighth of England, and* Frederick (*sirnamed* Barbarossa) *Emperour of Germanie.*

FIRST, these two mighty Princes, King *Henry* of *England* and the Emperour *Frederick Barbarossa*, were most notable in these last Ages, for the greatnesse of their Spirits, and for the boldnesse of their attempting, both of them attempting one fortune, but with great difference of successfull fortune; and both of them attempting with such resolute stoutnesse, as that in themselues they are of neere comparison, though in their fortunes they were not comparable. The

The King & the Emperor famous for their bold Attempts.

The Emperour against Pope Alexander, the King against Pope Clement They both quarrell the Pope for Soueraignetie.

Emperour hee attempts againſt *Pope Alexander*, The King againſt *Pope Clement*, in this they conſpire, but the *Emperour* failed in his enterprize, wherein the King got the garland, and triumphed, and in this they agree not. The *Emperour* he quarrells the *Pope* for Soueraignety, and becauſe he thought it indignity and diſhonour, to this imperiall place, to be crowned and confirmed by the *Popes* allowance. King *Henry* his quarrel was for Supremacie, thinking it diſhonour to his kingly dignity, to be ſecond to any man in his own dominions, and in this they very neerely conſent.

The King intended reformation, the Emperour did not.

Secondly, Againe, the King he intends a further care then this buſineſſe of State, the reformation of Chriſtian Religion, the which he found to be much corrupted. The *Emperour* had not this good intention, but trauells principally to reobtaine the Soueraigne liberty of his place, which by the power of the *Popes* was taken from him, and in this they agree not. Againe, the *Emperour* neuer fainted in himſelfe but continued his princely courage to the laſt, though the diſ-

The Emperour more forward leaſt fortunate.

aduantage

aduantage of fortune, made him faile in his great attempting, and though moſt baſely he did humble himſelfe at the *Pope* his enemies feete, yet was he forced to this by extremities, & not by any deiection or weakeneſſe of his former haughty ſpirit. But the King though he had the Conqueſt, and preuailed againſt the *Pope* in all hee vndertooke, yet fainted he in the hope of his greateſt buſineſſe, not reforming Religion but in parte, which he might haue done at his own pleaſure, being prouoked thereto by the perſwaſion of proſperous fortune. But this failing in the King, was not cauſed by the weakeneſſe of his courage, but by the weakeneſſe of his Nature being eaſily ruled by the perſwaſion of his neere fauourites, and therfore in this they were vnequall.

The Kings weakeneſſe was the weakeneſſe of Nature not of Courage.

Thirdly, In reſpect of the *Popes* their enemies, they were both alike handled, both of them being by both their enemies interdict and depoſed from their gouernements, but yet with vnequall ſucceſſe. For *Pope Alexander*, did curſe more effectually and to better purpoſe then *Pope Clement*. The *Emperour* being

The two Popes their enemies neerely agree

They both curſe, but with vnequall ſucceſſe.

being conſtrained by his interdictions, and bannings to ſurceaſe his forward Armes, and with great humility to reconcile and ſubmit himſelfe. But King *Henries Pope* was not ſo happie in his curſes, For hee did banne, and curſe the King, as much as any other *Pope* in the world could doe, yet was it fruitleſſe, and to no purpoſe; the King not thriuing worſe but the better, for this bitter banning *Shemei*, who like *Balam* the banning *Prophet*, offer ſacrifice to curſe with holy pretence, and for good proſperity.

Theſe banning Popes like Shemei *and* Balam.

The Princes agree not in their ends.

Fourthly, Laſtly in their ends, were they moſt vnlike, for the Emperour was continually followed with euil fortune, being forced many times to many great extremities, and many diſhonourable fallings. Firſt, was hee diſarmed by the power of the *Popes* Cenſure, his owne people forſaking him in his beſt hope, and in a time of moſt importance, then was hee conſtrained by ineuitable neceſſity, to ſubmit himſelfe to the *Pope*, and to implore his fauour, and either to receiue the Crowne and the dignity of his place, at the curteſie of his enemie, or elſe to bee de-

The Emperors bad fortunes.

priued

priued of all ſoueraigne State. Againe, the indignities wherewith the *Pope* did vſe the Emperor, to whom when the Emperour made his humble ſubmiſſion, the *Pope* in ſcorne of his debaſed Maieſty, ſet his foot on the Emperours neck, with his miſapplyed phraſe of Scripture. *Super Aſpidem, &c.* the which how grieuous it muſt needs bee to a perſon of ſuch Maieſty and ſpirit; let any man that hath ſpirit iudge it. Laſtly, his end was vnfortunate, the naturall courſe of his life being preuented by violent and ſudden death. But the Kings fortunes were for the moſt part proſperous, and much vnequall to the Emperor; for he did not only ſhunne theſe dangerous fortunes, but moſt braue-ly acquitted himſelf of all diſhonourable retiring; finiſhing whatſoeuer hee attempted, with ſuch eaſe and proſperity, as if no reſiſtance had bene made againſt him. In reſpect then of themſelues, and of their noble and haughty ſpirits, were theſe Princes of moſt equall and fit compariſon, in reſpect alſo of their attempts they did both conſpire one; But in their fortunes they were much diſagreeing.

The indignities wherewith the Pope did vſe the Emperor.

The Popes inſulting pride.

The Emperors end vnfortunate.

The King very fortunate.

In reſpect of themſelues the two Princes were equalls, in reſpect of their fortunes they diſagree.

diſagreeing. The King finiſhing that with victory and ſucceſſe, wherein the Emperour euer failed. And yet this praiſe may be giuen the Emperour, that if the Kings fortunes had bene giuen him, it is moſt certaine hee would haue vſed them to greater aduantage; the king being ſatisfied with that title which could not haue ſatisfied the great ambition of the *Emperour*.

The Emperours praiſe.

OF

OF THE NEXT DEFENDOR OF THE Faith, King EDVVARD the Sixth.

CHAP. XI.

FIRST, there is nothing good, that is not deriued from God, the fountaine of all goodneſſe, for man and all the paſſage of his life, from his birth to his buriall is altogether euill, ſo generally is depraueдneſſe, ſpread ouer all the ſonnes of Nature, that there was neuer any (*Ieſus Chriſt* excepted) from the firſt man *Adam*, to him that ſhall be the laſt borne, free from the infection of ſinne, ſo generally is that leproſie

God the fountaine of goodneſſe.

All men naturally euill.

proſie ſpread ouer all mankinde, as that no part of the body, or any faculty of the ſoule is altogether free from the euil thereof, euery man being by nature inclinable to euery ſinne, no man hauing power to doe well, for grace is the gift of God, neither can any man attaine it, but he to whom it ſhall pleaſe God to giue it. And therefore, when God hath a work of grace to be wrought by men, he giueth to ſuch whom he ſhall chooſe for inſtruments, ſo much of his good ſpirit, as to inable them for his holy purpoſe; So that, God both decreeth the good, and deuiſeth the meanes to compaſſe it. Man being paſſiue, and moued to goodneſſe as ſhall pleaſe the ſpirit of God to leade him. And therefore the glorie of euery good action belongeth to God onely, by whoſe ſpirit it is onely wrought and not otherwiſe.

Grace the gift of God.

God decreeth the good and deuiſeth the meanes.

Secondly, And for particular inſtance of this, wee haue King *Edward*; to conſider, a Prince compoſed all of goodneſſe, hauing extraordinarie induments of holineſſe, ſo abundant was Gods grace in this Prince, as thereby he was well fitted to finiſh the worke of

K. Edward.

K. Edward fit to finiſh the worke of Reformation

of Reformation, yet wee may not giue the honour of the buſineſſe to the King, but to God, who inſpired him with this abundance of grace. And thus farre onely wee honor the King as Gods inſtrument, whereby it did pleaſe him to worke; and that we admire the gifts of Gods ſpirit in him, whereby hee was made to exceede all other Princes then liuing: hauing receiued from God the ſword of the ſpirit, and the Shield of Faith, whereby hee was well able to defend the Catholike Faith, and to retorte all the fierie darts of the *Diuell.* And therefore the greateſt glory be to God, who hath the greateſt part in this buſineſſe; and let the King haue honour too, whom God did pleaſe to honour as his choice inſtrument.

God had the greateſt part in this buſineſſe.

Thirdly, Such was this moſt noble Prince, and princely *Defendor* King *Edward*, as the King his Father may be ſaid to haue defended the Catholike Faith in nothing more, then in leauing the ſucceſſion of his cares, to ſuch a ſonne, ſuch a Prince, and ſuch a Defendor: who (notwithſtanding his youth and the many combrances of State at that time,)

time,) went forward in reforming with such spirit, and successe, as was admirable; his zeale effecting, that his Fathers coldnesse had left vndone. So that God may seeme to haue loued him as he did *Moses*, giuing so much of his spirit, as sufficiently would suffice many others. For let him be compared with all other Princes in the world then liuing, and he shall bee found in true iudgement to exceed them all; hauing dedicate himselfe (wholly) to the faithfull executing of Gods will, manifesting his holy affections, by his continuall cares to that end directed. And therefore happie was K. *Henrie*, and happie was this Nation, in hauing this Sonne of Grace to second him, and to perfect his religious cares whom God had found like holy *Dauid*, answerable to his owne heart; whose honourable name liueth with those names of most honour; whose faithfull seruice to God and Religion, doth now flourish in many parts of Christēdome; and whose soule liues in the fauour of God, and in the happie fellowship of holy Angels and Saints.

The King beloued of God.

The King the best of all Christian Princes then liuing.

The Nation happie in K. Edward to defend the Faith.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, This most gratious and excellent Prince, as he was deriued the Defendor of the *Faith*, and did by naturall discent inherit his fathers titles: so as his neerest and principall care, did he entertaine the cause, and like as he was Gods Lieftenant, hee did maintaine those spirituall warres his Father had vndertaken; and did proceed with such spirit and successe, as all those quarrells haue, that haue Christ Iesus for their generall, and Antichrist for an enemie: so diuine was the heauenly composition of his Nature, and so well ordered was his education, as if both heauen and earth had desire to make him excellent, and to make his *Character* an exact demonstration, able to instruct the most excellent Christian Prince, how to moderate betweene the power of Maiesty, and the dutie of conscience. For if State would iudge his *Zeale*, and *Religion* his *State*, he shall be found to deserue this high praise I giue him, and both *Religion* and *State* would iudge him to be worthie and fit to gouerne a Religious State.

Fifthly This happie Prince (in the little

The praiſe of King Edward.

time of his gouernement) gaue a large teſtimonie of his worth, and did both exceed the expectation was had of him, and inlarge their expectations that did hope well, who though he was but young when hee entred his gouernement, yet at his very entrance did he better the State, labouring (with admirable care and conſtance) in the better reforming of Religion, and for the ſafe protection of the *Catholike Faith*, which *Truth*, (God willing) in the proceſſe of this Hiſtorie ſhall appeare moſt euident.

Sixthly, And moſt Gratious Prince, to whom I write and dedicate theſe labours, let me (with reuerence and exception of your Grace) report my opinion, that this Nation neuer had ſuch a *Salomon*, who in ſo poore a number of yeares, had a like meaſure of thoſe his rich treaſures of *Zeale*, *VViſedome*, *Loue*, and *State*.

CHAP.

Of the benefit that redounds to a State by a lawfull succeſsion of blood.

CHAP. XII.

FIRST, the benefit that redounds to a State by a lawfull ſucceſſion of blood, may appeare by the miſery of many kingdomes and great ſtates, the which (for want of ſucceſſion) haue indured the greateſt extremities that could bee; the examples whereof are very common in the ſtories both of Chriſtian & heathen kings. Therefore I will onely produce one of the old world, the mighty *Alexander*, whoſe fortunes in the conqueſt of warre, made the world tremble at his awfull name, hauing ſubdued the greateſt and beſt part of the earth, yet leauing the conqueſt of his ſword

The miſerie of manie kingdomes.

Alexander *of Macedon.*

Alexander *leauing his Empire to his friend diuided, did ſooner periſh.*

to his friends diuided, and not to his owne ſucceeding blood entire & wholy; the Empire hee had got and thus left, could not ſtand, being not vnited in one ſoueraigne ſucceſſor, but deuidid into parts; whereof inſued emulation and enuie, and at the laſt vtter deſolation; which happily had not bene, if *Alexander* had had a Sonne *Alexander* to haue ſucceeded in his Empire.

The kingdomes of France.

Secondly, An example neerer vs, both in reſpect of time and place, is the Kingdome of *France*, our Neighbour Nation. A kingdome that hath indured the greateſt extremities, the miſery of Warre could lay vpon it; and this was onely occaſioned by want of ſucceſſion in blood: the *French* King then not hauing Iſſue Male to ſucceed him in his Empire, gaue occaſion that the king of *England Edward* the Third, made claime to the kingdome of *France*, in the right of his Mother, being ſuruiuing heire to *Phillip* ſirnamed the Fayre, to whom (by the moſt allowable Law) the Right muſt needs diſcend; which the French vtterly withſtand by reaſon of the ſalique Law, which diſ-inableth

Edward *the Third.*

The title of England to the crowne of France.

women

women in such inheritance: yet hence hath proceeded the greatest alteration in that state that euer was, the kings of England, by many notable attempts and victories, defacing the beautie of that famous kingdome, which (for largenesse of Empire, and all other earthly blessings) may bee said to bee the most soueraigne of all Christendome. And therefore the spoyle of such a kingdome is very lamentable, and the cause of that spoyle much to be condemned: yea so great is the misery of that euill cause to that kingdome, as that they still stand in the hazard of good or euill fortune, expecting a dangerous warre, whensoeuer the Maiesty of any English King shall please to make claime to that kingdome, which both by succession and conquest is his owne.

Frãce much vexed with English warres.

France still in the hazard of English warres.

Thirdly, Within our selues also we haue notable examples of the misery of state, when lawfull succession doth either faile, or is (by intrusion) interrupted. For vpon this foundation was builded that most famous quarrell, betweene the two houses of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, a difference

English examples.

Yorke and Lancaster.

that made *England* to bleede in euery vaine, neither could it euer be compounded, vntill the ſucceſſion of both thoſe lines met in one particular, whereby the Canons did know one vndoubted ſucceſſor without competitor, to whoſe ſeruice they might addreſſe themſelues, whereas before they were diuided into parts; ſome adhering to this, others to that, as authority and loue could moue them, whereby they broake their vnity to make a fraction; and the truth of ſucceſſion being doubtfully vnderſtood, was the cauſe that men were more eaſily drawne (by perſwaſion) to the bloody enterprize of Warre, which happily had not bene (or at the leaſt) not ſo violent, if the right of inheritance had not bene interrupted by intruſion.

The cauſe of the Engliſh ciuill warres was the interrupting of lawfull Succeſſion.

Fourthly, But that moſt Worthie of note, is the late time of Queene *Elizabeths* Reigne, a Ladie worthy of beſt memorie; who being vnmarried, made her Subiects haue doubtfull expectation, who ſhould ſucceed her; the which then was moſt dangerous, when the Queene was paſt the hope of hauing naturall iſſue. And this did not onely breede a Ielouſie

Queene Elizabeth.

The danger that was feared by her want of Iſſue

ſie in the heads of her owne people; but alſo gaue occaſion, that forraigne Princes had regardfull eye to the vncertaine conditions of thoſe times; and among them, ſuch eſpecially as did moſt enuie the proſperity of our Nation. For they might then hopefully beleeue, that the Queene leauing the State in theſe vncertainties, and (as they thought) to many Competitors; it could not be, but needs the glorie thereof would ruine, by ciuill diſcord, and part-taking, and that then would a time bee offered them, to reuenge and inrich themſelues. And howſoeuer God hath preuented the euill which was (worthily) feared, yet certainely euen then was the danger great, and the euill hopes of our enemies vpon likely-hood conceiued; neither is there any that hath vnderſtanding in the affaires of State, but will acknowledge the euēt of theſe times, did exceed the expectation that all men had of them, and that the Kings Maieſties comming in (that laſt was,) was a worke of Gods ſpeciall prouidence, whereby he did direct thoſe iudgements, the which at this time did very much threaten our Nation.

The danger of the State.

Gods preuention.

The euent did exceed expectation.

Fifthly, By thoſe examples may bee vnderſtood the danger that redounds to a ſtate, when ſucceſſion doth either faile, or is (by intruſion) interrupted, the euill experience whereof is not onely to be found in the alteration of ſtates, but alſo in the ſubuerſion of priuate houſes. For a Son is neerer in diſpoſition and conſent of Nature, then one further off in the degrees of blood; and for ſtate, ſuch are moſt fit to ſucceed in gouernement that are the ſeede of Gouernours; Nature traducing to them, the Maieſty and iudgements of their Progenitors: and for the fauour of the people; that Prince or heire apparant hath it moſt aſſured, whoſe intereſt is beleeued before he inherit; becauſe that breeds a generall regard in the hearts of all men, and preuenteth the miſchiefe which otherwiſe might happen by conſpirators. And in this was our Engliſh Nation moſt happie, in hauing this Princely Sonne King *Edward*, not onely to ſucceed his Father in the rule of his kingdome, but alſo to exceed him much in Religion and holy life.

The ſubuerſion of great houſes.

The Sonnes of gouernors are beſt fitted for gouernement.

King Edward did exceed and ſucceed his Father.

Obſeruations

Obseruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, Procreation and to deriue posterity, is one cause in the ordinance of Marriage; for therefore hath God placed that desire in our Flesh so pronely, because the generations of our kinde should not faile, but be continued both in number and quallitie to maintaine the *Truths* of *Gods Decree.* *Diuine.*

Secondly, None can deriue any thing from their Parent, but what their Parents haue Naturally. Therefore is there often much difference in the quallities of Father, and Sonne; because our Parents giue vs our Nature as it is, but God as hee will please to haue it.

Thirdly, It was euer hazardous, and will be to the prosperity and saftie of the *State*, when the Prince is childlesse, or doth want one certaine, knowne, vndoubted heyre, because when there is not a certainty of lawful *Pollitique.*

Succession,

Succeſſion, there is iuſt occaſion to feare vnlawfull intruſion.

Fourthly, Men generally are better content to giue the reſpects due to ſoueraigntie, to a Prince deriued, and home borne, than to one that doth attaine ſoueraignty either by ſuffrage or conqueſt, becauſe though there be a neceſſity of duty in both yet the one is voluntary, the other violent.

Morall. Fifthly, Some *Philoſophers* haue thought it better to adopt children than beget them, becauſe it is in our power to chuſe the vertuous, but not to forget them.

Sixthly, It hath bene thought a ſhame to die childleſſe, becauſe he that hath one leaueth a part of himſelf, or at leaſt the Image of all.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of King Edwards defending the Catholike Faith, and wherein hee chiefly defended it.

FIRST, it is not possible I should relate at full the worthinesse of this Sonne of Grace, and princely Defendor King *Edward*; he deseruing by much, a more honorable rememberance, then the tract of this Historie can giue. So large is he in his goodnesse, as therin he hath done more then many his predecessors, and hath best deserued euerlasting memorie, and to haue his name liue in the Ranke of the best Christian Princes that euer were, so rare were the gifts of God in him, that hee seemed to aspire no other end but holinesse, and so modest in his zeale, as

The Kings praise.

His mercy to his enemies.

as no marke of violence could euer bee diſcerned in him; abhorring the effuſion of all blood, euen of that of his enemies, inſomuch that I may report (with confidence) that in his royall perſon, mercie & truth were met, and that righteouſneſſe and peace did kiſſe each other: and to conclude his praiſe, I belieue him to haue deſerued a greater commendation then this I giue him.

The particular of his deſerts.

Secondly, And to conſider the particulars whereby the King hath principally deſerued his new Stile of *Defendor* of the Faith: Firſt he no ſooner had authority, but he applied it to this holy end; beginning this care with his Empire, and with the inheritance of his kingdome, tooke vpon him the protection of Faith, and holy worſhip as if he regarded not his kingly office, but onely to bee the better able to ſerue theſe heauenly occaſions whereto in his reſolution he was onely deuoted.

The King did inherit his kingdome and his care for Religion together.

His firſt care.

Thirdly, And therfore at his firſt entrance, into his ſoueraignty did he publiſh himſelfe to the world; and declared what men ſhould expect from him, and how he was in the caſe

of

of Religion affected: whereupon hee made protestation to defend, what the King his Father had done, in degrading the *Pope* from his Supremacie, and in scattering the wicked fraternities of Fryers and Religious men & women, falsly professing Religion: in which two particulars onely, K. *Henrie* may seeme to haue defended the Catholike Faith. And therefore in giuing allowance to his Fathers act, he hath well merited to share in the honour of the deede; and this his approuing what was wel done, may be said to be his first good deed, and therefore doe I ranke it for the first holy act of King *Edward*, whereby he hath deserued to bee stiled *Defendor of the most Catholike Faith.*

He secondeth his Fathers attempt.

His first act of defence to the Faith.

Fourthly, This honourable beginning of King *Edward*, was not interrupted by euill meanes, as was that of King *Henrie* his Father, neither did he retire himselfe from the pursuite of an enterprize so honourable, but with a holy resolution went on, in the trauell of so needfull a businesse, resoluing with a Christian purpose to finish what his Father had so hopefully begunne; so strong was

King Edward *was not tempted, as was King* Henry *by euill counsell.*

His holy zeale for reformation.

was he in his deſire to reforme Religion, as that all his other indeauours were but ſeruants to that only end directed, wherein he vſed ſuch endeauour, as was very admirable in his yeares, and might well witneſſe how much he was in the fauour of God, who gaue him ſuch rare induments in ſo plentifull a manner; whereby hee was extraordinarily fitted for the office of his great place, and for the defence of the Catholike Faith, whereof he was made a patron.

The King well fitted for this buſineſſe.

Fifthly, And this defence the king vndertooke not as a practiſe of ſtate, whereby to inlarge his particular in any earthly regard, but hee was led thereto onely by his zeale, and the perſwaſion of his conſcience, who finding by that iudgement God had giuen him, how much the face of Religion was become deformed, by ſuperſtition and groſſe ſeruice; and being moued by the Spirit of God to vndertakè a reformation, would not by diſobedience reſiſt that power, that both made him and did mooue him to that purpoſe: And therefore with the beſt ſpirit of a Chriſtian Prince, he did not onely ſecond

The King not moued by any reſpect.

his

his Fathers honourable attempting, but far outstript him in that most honourable course of Reformation; his whole life being no other then the practise of his holy care, regarding nothing that did not regard the aduancement thereof, and gladly giuing his assent to whatsoeuer might further it.

Wherein K. Edward principally defended the Faith.

Sixthly, But that wherein he hath principally defended the Catholike Faith, and exceeded all other Princes in his holy care, was the vtter extirping of Papacie from his dominions; denying the warrant of his authority for the publike exercise thereof; exchanging falshood for *Truth*, and confusion for *Order*, reformed Religion, which (by long custome, and euill practise) was deformed. And this he did with such orderly assent in Parliament, they establishing what the kings Prerogatiue had commanded; the King and the State ioyntly agreeing vpon an vniforme order of common prayer, inioyning al obedient Subiects to the exercise thereof, and denouncing such for disobedient and rebellious, as should dare to vse the forbidden Ceremonies of Poperie, or any other forme

Popery vtterly extirped by the King.

The consent of Parliament.

An vniforme order of common prayer appointed by the King.

forme diuers, from that which had authority from the King and Parliament: the king and the State well vnderstanding, that the verity of Religion, could not better be continued, than by vniformity and order.

Verity could not stand without vnitie.

Seuenthly, And this is that which deseruedly hath made the king worthie of honourable name, and most worthie of all others to be stiled *Defendor* of the most Catholike Faith, neuer any Prince before him, hauing done more, & with greater zeale for Religion, then this very act king *Edward* did: being in this comparable with *Iosias* the good king of the *Iewes*, who with all industry did trauell in Gods businesse, destroying the groaues, and high places, where the Idols had that diuine worship, which (of dutie) is onely belonging to God. And such were those phantasticall Ceremonies then vsed, more like the exercise of Heathen than of Christian Priests, and such was the kings care to reforme and rectefie, as may well equall that of king *Iosias*, and worthily exceed all his predecessors, the kings of *England* before him. To recite the particulars of his honourable

Iosias *of Iuda.*

The ceremonies of Poperie like the rites of the Heathen Priests.

nourable merit were a trauell infinite, the paſſage of his kingly life being nothing but in exerciſe of goodneſſe, the benefit whereof this Nation doth preſently enioy, and the renowne thereof ſpread ouer all Chriſtendome, and therefore I will onely remember ſome particulars of neereſt conſideration, and ſuch, whoſe remembrance may moſt dignifie the author and contriuer of them.

Eighthly, In the yeare 1547, and the firſt of King *Edwards* Reigne, the King by act of Parliament, did repeale all former Statutes concerning Religion; by which Statutes the profeſſors of Truth had bene iudged Heretickes, and Heretickes and falſe Profeſſors approued: among the number of euill Statutes then repealed, was that of the ſixe Articles; a Statute guilty of the blood of many the deareſt Children of God, which like an euill ſoare ſpread ouer all the Kingdome, culling out ſuch for the day of ſlaughter, whom God had ordained to inherit eternal life: the euil furie therof ſet on fire by the turbulent Spirits of euill men,

Anno 1547.

The repeale of ſtatutes concerning Religion.

Sixe Articles.

Gardiner Bonner.

then in authority ſuch as were *Stephen Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Bonner* Biſhop of *London* and others who by euill Counſell and pollice, made the latter time of King *Henrie*, fill our Engliſh Chronicles with the ſtories of blood, and perſecution.

The Kings renowne.

Ninthly, And therfore be it famous for the honour of King *Edward* and moſt worthie of his holy title, that his princely care gaue end to this bloodie euill, and that he for the honour of his God, & for the peace of his ſaints, hath put out theſe deſtroying fires, and blunted that edge of perſecution, which then did Tiranize the ſpace of ſixe yeares, by the authority of the ſixe euill Articles. By this repeale did King *Edward* cure the wound his Father had made ſo dangerous in the Church and State of *England*; reconciling himſelfe, and the authority of his place to the fauour of God, which (by theſe bloodie Articles) his Father had verie much indangered.

The King put out the fires of perſecution.

The King did cure the wound his Father made

The Kings furtherance.

Tenthly, Againe the Kings holy care did not here end, but yet reſpected a further benefit to the Catholike Faith, neuer ſatisfying him-

himselfe to haue done well, whilst there was ought left vndone, which either the seruice of his place, & kingly office, or the necessity of the present times required. And therfore when he had cast out the abhominatiō of his Israell, (*Popish Idolatrie*) and the many errors of that Ceremonious Seruice; hee contenteth not himselfe with this good deede, but proceedeth to a higher degree of merit, to the true establishment of the truth of Gods seruice; thinking it vnworthy the honour of his name, to take off from the church the ragges it then wore, and so to leaue it naked, and therefore did he inuest it with orders and ornaments of decencie, fitting the fashion of Christs *Spouse* (the Church Militant) whereby shee might be distinguished from all diuersity whatsoeuer.

The orders of the Church established by the King.

Eleuenthly, And by this meanes the Liturgie of the Church was brought into a right square, and proportionable to the Rule of Gods Word, which ought to fashion euerie Christian care, but principally the forme of Religion and holy Seruice.

The King moſt merciſull and compaſſionate.

Twelfthly, Moreouer, the commiſeration he had of the neceſſities of men, doth deſerue a worthie remembrance, and to bee ranked among thoſe holy cares, that haue made him verie famous. For clemencie and pitifull regard in a perſon of ſuch Maieſty, is that whereby great men neereſt reſemble the Nature of God, who is moſt mighty, yet moſt mercifull. In which heauenly reſpect, this good King hath ſo farre exceeded example, as that I cannot giue him equall compariſon, with any earthly creature in thoſe times liuing: who notwithſtanding his greatneſſe of Maieſty, and high place, would (in his prouident care) diſcend to the loweſt of his Subiects; to the lame, the poore, and the fatherleſſe; and with the eyes of Chriſtian compaſſion, would he view their neceſſities, and accordingly prouide for them of his owne accord, not led thereto by the perſwaſion of any, ſaue of Gods Spirit, which did continually moue him to holy exerciſe; the witneſſe of which his holy care, will euer liue in the thankefull prayers of poore people, who at this day are relieued

In mercie men reſemble God.

His care for poore.

in

in Hoſpitalls, by him erected and giuen. And in this reſpect hath hee well deſerued the ſtile of *Defendor of the Catholike Faith*, defending and prouiding for poore Chriſtians (the Children of Faith) againſt the powerfull enemie neceſſity.

Hoſpitalls by him erected.

13. And theſe workes of mercie are the beſt demonſtrations we can giue, that wee are in the Catholike Faith: for he that hath not mercie, hath not faith, they being as vnſeparable, as the good Tree and the good fruit. And ſuch was this Noble Prince, and ſo rare was he in the worke of holineſſe, as that worthely and before all others, he hath deſerued to be ſtiled *Defendor* of the moſt True, moſt Antient, and moſt Catholike Faith.

The workes of mercie the beſt witneſſes of holy Faith.

The King deſerued his Stile.

Obſeruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, A wicked Prince may effect Religious deeds, but affect them he cannot, becauſe ſuch deeds, in ſuch a one, are not done

Diuine.

done for themſelues, but for the ſeruice of vnlawfull and wicked ends.

Secondly, In Gods affaires, the Prince his ſeruant, may neither exceed his Commiſſion in preſuming, neither neglect it with coldneſſe, but ſo proportion all his Chriſtian proceedings, that they may receiue allowance from the teſtimonie of God; for as the body of a *pollitique State* (*Subiects*) are in all ciuill reſpects obedient to their temporall Lord. So all Potentates, Powers, and dignities haue their ſuperintendent (God) who is their Lord paramont and doth command and iudge them as his vaſſalls.

Thirdly, Such onely are fit to bee reformers of Chriſtian Religion as haue Authority, *Truth and Zeale*, *Authority* to doe, *Truth* to diſtinguiſh & *Zeale* to perſeuere: all which had being and life in the perſon of King *Edward*.

Pollitique. Fourthly; It was a Chriſtian *Pollicie* in the King, to eſtabliſh Religion with vniformity and order, and it is that *Pollicie* that doth ſtill maintaine the State vnited. For difference, (though it be but in ceremonie) is a moſt neceſſarie

ceſſarie cauſe of moſt vnneceſſarie diſcords.

Fifthly, Such *Senators* are honourable, that preſent themſelues to cauſes of generall profit but ſuch are both wiſe and honourable that can either frame their *Prince* for ſuch intentions, or doe apprehend and forward his good determinations.

Sixthly, To preuent diſgrace and euill, (euen in a morall life) it is neceſſarie to deſtroy all cauſe (not onely of euill doing) but of euill ſuſpition. For common reputation is nothing but *Opinion* which is got and loſt, aſwell with Ceremonies as with *Truth*. *Morall.*

CHAP. XIIII.

The trouble of the State at this time of King Edward *how they were occasioned and how compounded.*

FIRST, it hath euer bene the nature of euill men, then to shew themselues most, when goodnes and good men are most eminent and glorious; and the reason is in nature, which maketh all contraries then most powerfull when they are in opposition: for vice is iudged by vertue, falshood by truth, and euerie euill is best made manifest by the opposition of goodnesse. So of the contrarie, euerie good thing is made apparāt by the enuie of euill, which like fire that wasteth his owne substance, to trie the golden mettall; so doth euill Ruine it selfe in enuie and euill practise,

Contraries iudge one another.

Note.

practiſe, not waſting the good, but making it much more glorious to the view of the world. Examples of this are in euery teſtimonie of time, and in euerie condition and ſtate in the world, it being onely poſſible for him to alter this naturall diſcord, to whom it is poſſible to deſtroy the worke of Nature. Neither it is euer to bee hoped, that all men ſhall conſpire one end, without oppoſition and ſtrife, till God purge this earth, and alter the condition of his creatures. Neither ought we (for this) to condemne the diuine prouidence, as if God could not otherwiſe diſpoſe Nature, or that he will not preuent this euill, but ſuffer the cauſe hee beſt loueth, oftentimes to indure moſt. For howſoeuer in the wiſedome of God, are many vnſearchable reaſons of his will to vs vnknowne: yet for the reaſon of this oppoſition of good & euill, humane reaſon and wiſedome may ſuffice to iudge it, becauſe as I haue ſaid gold is not the worſe, but the better for his firie tryall, and a good cauſe is not confounded, but confirmed by the oppoſition of euill. And therefore

There muſt be faction.

Prouidence.

The reaſon of this oppoſition of good and euill.

Goodneſſe not confounded but confirmed by the oppoſition of euill.

therefore doth God many times suffer euill to preuaile, but neuer to the destruction of good; and to whomsoeuer it shall please God to giue the inheritance of heauen, it is reason he direct vs the way, bee it by danger or by death. For if God leade vs to Heauen by the gates of Hell, the way is good because the end is happie; for most happie are they who reach life, be the passage neuer so dangerous, and for euer blessed be *Truth*, be the opposition of enuie and euill men neuer so malignant.

The way is good if the end be happy

Truth.

Secondly, The stories of these times is sufficient witnesse to proue the enuious Nature of euill men. For now that God had giuen our Nation a *Salomon* for Wisedome, and a *Iosias* for his Deuotion, and Zeale; changing our miserie into mirth, our teares into laughter, whose holy care did free holy Martyrs from torture, and cruell persecutions; giuing to all his Subiects liberty in the true seruing of God, which for many yeares they had wanted, and with much blood had bene witnessed; yet notwithstanding this good King, and the goodnesse hee wrought,

were

were there many ſeditious and euill men, who (like the conſpiracie of *Corath*) combine themſelues in Rebellion and wicked practiſe againſt the Lords annointed, and their ſoueraigne: ſome pretending Religion which they called their conſcience; others other grieuances in the ſtate, according as they could deuiſe them. Neither wanted there occaſions in *Scotland* to trouble the peace of thoſe times; the *Scots* denying to performe that whereunto (by oath) they were obliged, for they had bound themſelues by oath to King *Henrie* the Eighth, to performe the marriage betweene King *Edward* his Sonne, and the Ladie *Mary of Scotland*, whereby the inheritance of both kingdomes, had diſcended to one intereſted heyre without competitor; the importance whereof, how important it was to the *Engliſh State*, may to any iudgement appeare, the not performing, begetting a diſcontent in both States, and a ſeloſie of both their proceedings, and ſuch as could not bee otherwiſe then with the ſword determined, God reſeruing the marriage of thoſe two warlike

Euill men and euill practiſe againſt the King.

Scotland.

The Marriage with Q. Mary of Scotland.

The importance of that Marriage.

Nations

Nations to honour the memorie of King *Iames* our Soueraigne, now in whose royall person these two disagreeing kingdomes, are (for euer) vnited: yet notwithstanding all these hard occasions, and the Kings minoritie, whereby he was lesse able to trauell in those weighty affaires of State, did God still support him, and the prosperity of his kingdomes, giuing him victorie ouer all that did contriue against him, and power to chastice the reuolt and disobedience of such his Subiects, as wickedly did bandie themselues against him their Soueraigne. Neither is it otherwise to be thought, but this body of the common people, was not moued to Rebellion by any proper motion of it owne, but rather led by the instigation of others. For the vulgar is like a body senceless, which cannot moue it selfe, yet subiect to bee carried with euery breath of winde, being altogether moued by perswasion and general opinion; and then such as did distaste the gouernement of the State (as those of the *Popes* faction) being the parties onely discontent with reforming Religion, stirres this rebellious

King Iames our Soueraigne.

The King euer victor.

Rebellio moued by perswasion and not by any proper motio.

The Papists.

ous bodie with the violence of perſwaſion, wherein by reaſon of their common experience they are cunningly fitted, & wherewith (in truth) they conueigh the ſpirit of enmitie, and ciuill ſtrife into the ſtates of all Chriſtian Princes, whereby that Religion hath got a name of pollicie, but vtterly loſt the renowne of *pietie*, the greateſt Profeſſors thereof, being found the greateſt practiſers in State that be. And by theſe inſtigators, were the troubles in the *Engliſh* Nation at that time, (and euer ſithence) occaſioned, to the glorie and ſtrength of the cauſe which God hath protected, and to their confuſion that thus wickedly conſpire.

The practiſe of rebellious Ieſuits and Prieſts.

Thirdly, But theſe troubles, as they were occaſioned by the turbulent ſpirits of men deſiring innouation and change, ſo were they happily determined by the prouidence of the State: the Lord *Protector* the *Duke of Somerſet*, approuing himſelfe forward and fortunate in diſcharge of his high place, to whoſe truſt both the perſon of the King, and the gouernment of his kingdome were commended. And doubtleſſe euen in this hath the

The Duke of Somerſet Protector.

His deserts.

the Duke deserued speciall commendation, and to be thought worthy the honour of his high place, considering the danger of the time, and the number of discontented persons in the state; the reforming of Religion diuiding the strength of the kingdome into an enuious faction; whereby the dispossessed (the *Papists*) vsed all meanes both of power and pollicie, to reobtaine what by reformation of Religion they had lost; and the *Protestants* endeauoring to secure, and continue what (by the fauour of God) they had lawfully gotten. And therefore the honourable compounding of these differences doth conclude the wisedome and faithfull seruice, of such as then did gouerne the state. For if the Duke had bene ambitious, and had aspired the soueraigntie, he would neuer haue lost the aduantage of this occasion, the time then seruing best to haue attempted it, the body of the Rebellious wanting onely such a head, to haue led them to any desperate attempt whatsoeuer. And therefore howsoeuer his enemies did brand his name with dishonourable imputations, it is very vnlikely

The reforming of Religion diuided the kingdome into a faction.

The Dukes care to compound these differences.

The Duke slandered.

vnlikely the Duke ſhould haue any ſuch diſ loyall affections, neglecting (as I haue ſaid) theſe opportune occaſions, and being ſo ſtrong in the fauour of the people.

Fourthly, But that which did moſt diſcontent the King and threaten the ſtate, was the variance betweene the Lord *Protector* and the *Barrons*: whoſe high place, and honourable deſeruing had got him much dangerous enuie in the State, which hee by too much ſufferance, gaue aduantage to preuaile, ſo farre as to his owne deſtruction. For if the *Duke* by his authority, had cut off the firſt beginnings of this euill, he had preuented the miſchiefe which thereof inſued, and ſo he might haue done that in the opportunity of time with eaſe, which afterwards hee would moſt gladly haue done, but could not with all the authority he had compaſſe; becauſe the opportunity was paſt, and then he could not recall occaſions, which then flie from vs, when they are not intertained. For it behoooueth him of great place, that would preuent the danger of enuie, (not to forbeare the cauſe of enuie, which is goodnes) but

The variance between the Lord Protector & the Barrons. Honour and deſert beget dangerous enuie.

The Dukes error in pollicie.

Poſt eſt occaſio Calua.

Note.

but to destroy the first beginnings of enuie, & not to giue that euill weed sufferance, which in (short time) will grow to a strength vncontroleable; and then who so offers to strike, shall but wound himselfe, and like a bird in a trap, locke himselfe more strongly in, by striuing to escape. And this assuredly was the *Dukes* error to suffer his enemies to grow to a strength he could not command, and then being in their danger, he sought by strong hand to rid himselfe; wherein he found he was much deceiued, to the losse of his life, and to the glory of his enemies; now from what cause this discord had beginning is diuersly imagined, neither doth our *English* Chronicles determine it, so that many seuerall coniectures diuersly interpret it: some blame the *Dukes* improuidence, and that he did not regard his owne security, so much as the danger of his place required; and therefore suffered his enemies to practise against him with all aduantage. Others that his euill gouerning the State, did so offend the Lords, as in their honourable care of the State they sought redresse; and that the

This ouersight was his death.

The cause of this discord.

The Dukes improuidēce.

His euill gouernement of the State.

Duke

Duke might either surrender his authority, or else reforme the disordered course of his former proceedings; to the more honour of the King, and the better gouernement of the Common-Wealth: others thinke that hee aspired the principality, and thereby runne himselfe into the highest degree of treason; which opinion is all malice, and no Truth. For questionlesse, if the *Duke* had bene guilty of Treason, his enemies would neuer haue condemned him of Felonie. Lastly, it is thought the cause was nothing but a practise of enuie, which his honourable life and zealous care for Religion had procured him, who aduancing his indeauour with all constancie for the reforming of Religion, and trauelling in the state with much prosperity and honour; hee by these meanes got a double enemie, his religious care procured him the hatred of the discontented persons in the State (which then were many, and his honourable life got him enuie in the great ones: who then couet to suppresse the growing reputation of any, whose merit may challenge the highest degrees of honour;

Ambition.

This opinion is all malice, no truth.

The true cause was a practise of enuie.

A double enemie.

The nature of great and enuious spirits.

for men enuie not the euill but the good of others; and he (alwaies) is moſt ſubiect to be enuied, whoſe vertuous life ſhall leaſt deſerue it.

Vertue moſt ſubiect to enuie.

Sixthly, And from this cauſe was the vnfortunate end of the good *Duke*, the Lord *Protector*, whom his enemies did not deſtroy for his euill, but for his honourable and vertuous life. And this howſoeuer it had the courſe of orderly proceeding, according to the tryall of law, yet was that onely a colour to giue it ſome reaſonable pretence; whereby the common mouth of the vulgar might be ſtopped, which in ſuch caſes is moſt daring and prodigall: and ſurely it is very remarkeable, that a Prince of his authority and greatneſſe, Vnkle to the King, and protector of his perſon and ſtate; ſhould bee thus forced to theſe hard extremities, and that in a Kingdome which himſelfe did protect to be arreſted, condemned, and executed for Felonie: an example ſo rare, as no time can produce the like, and ſuch as may remember the greateſt, how ſubiect they be to the fall of Fortune; who toyleth them moſt

The tryall of law onely a colour to ſatisfie reports.

The Dukes extremitie of hard fortune.

The greateſt are moſt ſubiect to the fall of Fortune.

most that fall from the highest dignities.

Obseruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, God doth often suffer his owne cause *Religion*, euen in the hope and prosperity thereof, to indure contrary fortunes; sometimes by intrusion of Errors, often by the interruption of peace. For without these tryalls of opposition, and aduersity, there can be no distinction of good and bad, neither could it merit extraordinarie praise to be a Christian. *Diuine.*

Secondly, In the Iudgement of Diuinity it doth not destroy the *Truth* of any cause, to suffer iniurie and violence, because the most sacred Sonne of God, did indure them in their extremities. Therefore are they deceiued, that make temporall prosperity a note of spirituall *Truth*, because *Truth* (in this life) may liue in banishment.

Thirdly, It was a wicked policie in the kings enemies (but powerfull,) to sow *Discord* in *Pollitique.*

his neereſt blood, for by that meanes it was eaſie for them to gaine that, which otherwiſe had bene difficult, becauſe ſuch diſagreements are moſt implacable that haue had power to deſtroy naturall affections, for there is nō hate like that, which is tranſlated out of loue.

Fourthly, It is one of the moſt principall reſpects that ſhould be in a Prince, to be able to conteine his owne ſecrets, and in all his important affaires, to vnderſtand more than he ſhall diſcouer; for by this meanes, hee ſhall both delude the purpoſe of him that would deceiue him, and by *Politique* obſeruations diſcouer deſignes farre off.

Morall. Fifthly, Particular diſquiets in a Morall life, are ciuill warres that would deſtroy a bleſſed peace, for as euery man is a little world. So the order or diſorder of that world hath reſemblance and fit compariſon with the ſtate of this world.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

A Discourse of the miseries of mans life vpon occasion of the Duke of Somersets death.

FIRST, It is true that at our birth wee begin to die, our life being no better then a continuall sickneſſe, which (by many extremities) leade vs to our graue, the ſanctuarie and houſe of Reſt; and therefore the beſt men haue leaſt deſired it, and the holieſt diſpiſed it, and that which doth ſtay them from the fruition of eternall happineſſe, and tie them to the bondage of fleſh (which of all other priſons) is moſt ſlauiſh; eſpecially to a ſoule of diuine and heauenly contemplation. For the holy men of all ages haue neuer thought it burdenſome to die, but haue deſired death, to releaſe them from the miſeries

Life is a ſickneſſe.

The contempt of life.

miſeries of life, neither haue they feared the Image of death, when it hath bene preſented in the moſt dreadfull forme, that Tyrants and wicked men could deuiſe: becauſe ſuch men make their life but ſeruant to their death, deſiring onely to liue to the glorie of their God, that ſo they may die in his fauour; for ſuch death ſetteth open the gates of eternity, whereas euery houre of this our tranſitory life, is ſubiect to many deaths, and many hard extremities.

Holy men neuer feared the Image of death.

Holy death ſetteth open the gates of life.

Secondly, The experience of this is common, and therefore leſſe admirable; neither is it ſtrange that Chriſtian men ſhould diſpiſe tranſitorie life, and the vaine glory of fleſh, becauſe they are bound thereto by the dutie of Chriſtianity; Chriſt himſelfe, the examples of Chriſtians, both commanding and commending it. And therefore is this obedience moſt worthie in the Children of Grace, but moſt ſtrange in the ſonnes of Nature, ſuch as haue onely a generall vnderſtanding of God, and of his mighty power, not knowing him in his mercie, nor in the hope of ſaluation; who by the naturall iudge-

The Children of Grace. The ſonnes of nature.

ment

ment of ſence, could iudge the miſeries of mans life, and therefore would preferre death before a life ſo vnconſtant and variable. Such were the noble ſpirits of many worthy men in former ages; and ſuch were many of thoſe graue and learned Philoſophers, who contemned the vaine glorie of mans life, and triumphed in the hope of death, being their comfort, and that wich in their opinion, would conclude their infinite trauell, and ſecure them in the pleaſure of perpetuall reſt. And ſuch were they who vnderſtanding the immortality of the ſoule, and how the faculties thereof were letted in their diuine offices, by the indiſpoſition of their bodies, and the naturall proneneſſe thereof to aduerſity and euill, would (by violent death) haue freed their ſoules from the priſon of their fleſh. The which howſoeuer it was by the rule of Religion, both damnable and fooliſh; yet they not knowing Religion nor the duty of conſcience, gaue a notable demonſtration how much they eſteemed death, more than a life ſo full of miſery and change.

The iudgement of ſenſe can iudge miſerie of mans life.

The antient Romanes and Greciãs.

Againſt the rule of Religion.

A notable demonſtratiõ

Thirdly, Such is the miſerable condition of mans life, as that euery minute thereof is ſubiect to euill change, no man hauing power to reſiſt the infinite number of occaſions that daily threaten him: inſomuch as if God withdraw his prouidence, and leaue vs to our guidance: we are then the moſt miſerable of all others, hauing more to afflict vs than all the other creatures of God; becauſe by our offending the Lord of all, wee haue made both him and them our enemies. So that all occaſions and euery worke of nature, watch the aduantage of Gods ſufferance, to reuenge themſelues on man, for whoſe ſinne they haue indured the curſe of euill. And from hence doth iſſue the infinite number of grieuances, which continually threaten the proſperity of mans life, whereby the moſt pleaſurable time of mans life, is ſubiect to this great miſery, that hee cannot ſecure any little continuance of thoſe pleaſures, wherin he ſo delighteth: neither can hee preuent the ſorrowes of his life, nor rid himſelfe from the leaſt of them; neither can he (as he is naturall) with any patience beare them.

Man hath more to afflict him than all other Creatures. Becauſe of ſinne.

The cauſe of the many grieuances of mans life.

them. So that both with them and without them, he is moſt miſerable, and ſo for euer would be, if the mercie of God, did not ſupplie to this weakeneſſe, and euill condition of our Nature.

Fourthly, Now to relate ſome particulars of theſe infinite miſeries, I firſt begin with ſickneſſe, an infirmity that beginneth with our life, and endeth in our graue, which God hath ordained to ſubdue the pride of mans nature, leaſt being puft vp with too much proſperity, we ſhould forget that wee are mortall and but creatures. And this in a double reſpect is very grieuous to our Natures: firſt in reſpect of the diuerſity of ſickneſſes, which being infinite in number, ſeeme like ſo many enemies to threaten our tranquillity and quiet. Secondly, in reſpect of our ſelues, all men being at all times, ſubiect to all infirmities. And therefore they that haue heaped the glory and treaſure of this worlde, and ſeeme to ingroſſe the pleaſures of this life, are notwithſtanding arreſted by ſickneſſe, and that many times with ſuch violence as they earneſtly deſire death, to

Sickneſſe.

Sickneſſe ordained to ſubdue the pride of our nature.

A double reſpect.
Firſt, the number of ſickneſſes.
Secondly, the generality. All men being ſubiect at all times to all infirmities.

Rich men.

to releaſe them of the miſeries of life, neither is the baſeſt condition of men, exempt from this generall infirmitie, the rich & the poore, the baſe and the Noble, being in this reſpect equalls, all men being alike ſeruants to the ſorrow of ſickneſſe, whoſe generall power preuailes to the deſtruction of all fleſh.

The poore & the rich are both alike afflicted with ſickneſſe.

Fifthly, Another maine grieuance is pouerty of life, which doth depreſſe the ſpirits of many, which otherwiſe would riſe to thoſe deſeruings, which in the iudgement of the world are moſt honourable. And this is both in it ſelfe euill and a puniſhment for ſinne, & alſo in generall opinion it is moſt hatefull, and that which (almoſt) all men carefully ſhunne, becauſe in the reputation of the world, men are eſtimated not according to their being, what they are; but after their hauing, how much they are in the fauour of fortune. And ſuch men are onely eſteemed honourable, and beſt worthy who are moſt worth, in vaine and vile poſſeſſions; the better ſort of men, commonly enioying the leaſt part of thoſe earthly bleſſings, which God hath giuen his creatures; by which vn-

Pouertie of life.

Pouertie hatefull to men.

The falſe opinion of the world.

euen

euen distribution it commeth to passe, that many times the honourable man, hath the vilde place; and the vilde man the honourable, the seruant many times exceeding his Lord, in the true worth of honesty, and vertue, by whom he is exceeded in vaine glory and honour. And this must needs be a great deiection to such as haue spirit to vnderstand themselues, for when men liue in a disproportion to their worth, it exceedingly blunteth that alacrity and good spirit, which (in a better condition of fortune) would be gracefull. And surely it cannot but grieue the spirit of vnderstanding men, to see the blockish and most vnworthie, like Idols with ornaments and trappings to bee inuested with dignities, and high preferments that onely know to vse those dignities to their couetous profit, and not to any honourable deseruing. And though pouerty to a good man, be but like the foyle to a diamond, to make it appeare the more beautifull, yet generally to mankinde it is most hatefull, and that which is onely indured by necessity, and Christian patience,

The honourable and the vile man do occupie on the others place.

Want deiecteth the spirits of well deseruing men.

The griefe of noble spirits.

Pouertie to a good man is like the foyle to the Diamond.

The desperate effects of poverty.

patience, begetting many times most dangerous discontentments in them of best apprehension, and obscuring the gifts of God and nature, which otherwise would appeare most glorious.

Mutability and change.

Sixthly Againe, the variable change of mans life, whereby he is violently carried to many disagreeing ends, sometime to the better sometime to the worse, according to the seuerall power of occasions: insomuch as in this respect a man is like a vessell at Sea, driuen with many contrarie windes, too and fro, alwaies in the extremities of storme and wearie passage, neither can any man ariue his peacefull port before death bring him to his graue, his life being nothing but a breath of contrarie windes bearing him to indure the misery of many hard and variable fortunes. And this euill is most sensible to those vnto whom Fortune hath bene most gratious; who enioying the pleasures of life with full appetite, and by the change of fortune, forced to change that state, wherin they thought themselues most happie. For then is aduersity in full strength, being in him whose

The continuall trouble of mans life.

The graue the resting place.

Fuisse miserum.

whose former life hath bene most prosperous; for the common induring of bitternes and misery, dulleth the edge thereof, and maketh it (by much lesse sensible) to him whome Custome hath made familiar with griefe; neither are mens natures so inclineable to the good, as to the bad alteration; it being generall in all men to moue themselues, to their owne destruction, the motion to perfection not being our owne, but the worke of Grace, which onely hath the glorie of euery good worke.

Custome is another nature.

Men by their naturall motions moue to euill, but to goodnesse by the mouing of Grace.

Seuenthly, It were needlesse to giue particular instance of this mutability of fortune, euery particular man hauing instance in himselfe to witnesse it, and for those of extraordinary glory and greatnesse we may remember that Romane Conquerour, who passing the streets of Rome in the glorie of his Triumph, had his braines beaten forth with a Tyle, which by casualty fell vpon him, or that of better memorie the *Duke of Somerset* (the occasion of this discourse,) who from the highest degree of a Subiect, fell into the ignominie of Treason and vntimely

That Roman Conquerour.

The Duke of Somerset.

timely death. And therefore the antient Romanes vnderſtanding the miſerie of variable fortune ordained, that when any of their worthy Captaines, ſhould ride in triumph; a ſlaue ſhould ride with him in his triumphall Chariot, holding faſt with his ſlauiſh hand, the lawrell Crowne vpon the Conquerours head, who then did triumph; both to moderate the vaine glory of the Conquerour, and alſo to remember him, to what condition he himſelfe was ſubiect, and therefore in reſpect of mutability of fortune, is mans life moſt miſerable, no man being able to ſecure himſelfe in any reaſonable condition of life.

A cuſtome among the antient Romanes.

Variable fortune maketh men miſerable.

Eighthly, But that which of all other is moſt burdenſome is Diſcontent, the diſeaſe of the ſoule, and that which of all other infirmities is moſt dangerous, and hard to cure, eſpecially in ſpirits of beſt apprehenſion, and in them who haue aſpired the reputation of high place. For the ſpirits of great men, are not moued to impatience without dangerous euents, becauſe their anger maketh them willing, and their greatnes

Diſcontent.

Minde.

Diſcontent a dangerous diſeaſe.

nes maketh them able to reuenge. And therfore ſuch men are neuer diſcõtent, but it prouoketh either their owne or other mens deſtruction; neither is this euill tied to particular men onely, but like a generall Plague it ſpreads it ſelfe ouer all degrees of men, though not in like vehemencie. For the beſt, and the worſt, the baſeſt and the moſt noble, haue at ſome time their diſcontents, whereby they are offended in themſelues, and wiſh to die; and that which is more admirable, thoſe men renowned for holineſſe of life, haue had this loathing to liue, aud deſired to die as *Iob*, *Elias*, and many other holy men, which may well conclude the miſery of a diſcontented minde, and how inſupportable it is in his extremity, for as the ſoule exceedeth the body in the excellencie of their Natures; So the grieuances of the ſoule, are much more ſenſible to our faculties, then thoſe of our bodies; becauſe griefe is properly belonging to the ſoule, and to the body onely by conſequence or participation. And if I were to define the greateſt miſerie on earth next to that of hell, ſin, and

The danger in diſcontenting great ſpirits.

All men haue at ſome times their diſcontents.

Holy men haue bene diſcontented.

Griefe is a greater torment then ſickeneſſe.

The greatneſſe of Diſcontent.

and damnation, I ſhould call it diſcontent in his extremitie, becaute (next the ſorrow of ſinne) the liuing part of man his ſoule, hath not any thing of like torment and affliction: and as all other miſeries are the ſeed from whence doth proceed this Monſter *Diſcontent*. So from diſcontent can be expected no better then deſtruction and death.

Death.

Ninthly, The laſt miſery of our life is *Death*, the which at one ſtroake doth reuenge all the euill of mans life; and this howſoeuer in it ſelfe it be not euill. yet in mens generall vnderſtanding, it is thought the worſt of all euills, and the moſt fearefull of all other miſeries. And therefore the very name of death, hath oftentimes ſtroake aſtoniſhment and terror in the hearts of tyrants and euill men; knowing that death was an enemy, againſt whom there was no reſiſtāce, hauing preuailed againſt them of the firſt age, though they liued many hundreds of yeares. For if the honours and pleaſures of this life were infinite, and the enioyers of them eternall, then were not the life of man ſo miſerable a condition; but hauing death

Death an enemie againſt whom there is no reſiſtance.

to

to controule the most glorious among men, and to depriue them of their prosperity and honours; in this respect the best of mans life, is no better then misery and griefe, because he foreseeth the end of all his prosperity, the remembrance of death sowring the greatest part of the pleasures of life, euerie man hauing griefe to loose that wherein he so much delighteth.

Death doth controule the prosperities of our life.

Tenthly, Yet *Death* though his power be generall ouer all flesh, is not therefore a misery to all men, but to many an end most happie and desired. For though it be a curse for sin to be mortall & die, yet is *Death* most happie to them that die well: God by the death of his Sonne, hauing reconsiled himselfe to his seruant Man; which by no other meanes could be made immortall. But this condition of happinesse, is not in the Nature of Man; but in the fauour and grace of God. And therfore is death that which good men hope, and bad men feare; the poore mans comfort and the rich mans terror, and that which maketh the King and the Subiect, the rich and the poore equall, making

Death is not a misery to all men.

Death maketh holy men immortall.

Good men hope for death and bad men feare it.

Death and the graue make all things equall

of euery mans fleſh but earth and putrifaction. And therefore the life of man euen from the wombe to the Graue, is nothing but miſery, and vexation of Spirit, no naturall man hauing the pleaſures thereof, but with ſuch limitation, as maketh pleaſure it ſelfe burdenſome.

No man hath pleaſures but with limitation.

Eleuenthly, The holy and good men of the world not otherwiſe regarding life, then as a time wherein to exerciſe their Chriſtian offices, and to ſuch there is no miſerie, neither in life nor death: happie are ſuch to whom God ſhall giue Grace to diſpiſe the vaine glorie of earth, and that vſe the creatures of God with chriſtian moderation, not affecting them more then the Lord of them, nor applying them to any other end then holines, for which all things were created; & moſt happie are they who for the honour of their God, and for the teſtimonie of his truth, haue forſaken the pleaſures of this tranſitory life, and haue giuen themſelues a ſacrifice to God, for ſo to die is to enioy immortality and perpetuall reſt.

To good men there is no miſerie.

How to vſe the pleaſures of this life.

Who are happie.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

Of King Edwards *Death and how hee left the State to the next Succeſſor.*

FIRST, it were fooliſh and vaine for any man, to deſire to know the ſecrets of Gods will; becauſe no man can vnderſtand more of Gods ſecret, than he himſelfe ſhall pleaſe to reueale: and therefore is mans knowledge limited, being able onely to iudge by reaſon, and conſequence; whereas Gods diuine workes exceed the iudgement of ſence, being (not contrary but) aboue the reach of reaſon. And from this cauſe is it, that men commonly offend in their falſe conſtructions, iudging of Gods worke groſly, according to humane vnderſtanding, and not conſidering his wiſedome and power by whoſe prouidence all things are directed.

No man can know any part of Gods ſecrets vnles God reueale them.

God not contrarie but aboue reaſon.

The cauſe of falſe conſtructions.

rected. For in Gods matters Chriſtians muſt beleeue, when they cannot iudge, and it is ſufficient argument to conclude the goodneſſe of any worke, when wee know that God is the *Author*: for thoſe things which to a naturall man ſeeme ſtrange, to a reformed iudgement appeare much otherwiſe; and there is nothing be it neuer ſo euill in mans iudgement but God can make it ſerue for the worke of his glory: he being able to make the euills of men reſpect an end beyond their expectations, and in that wherein we iudge our ſelues, moſt miſerable, can he make vs moſt happie.

In diuine matters Chriſtians muſt beleiue when they cannot iudge

The vſe that God can make of all our actions.

Secondly, And for particular inſtance we may conſider K. *Edward*, whom God elected from among many thouſands for the work of his glory; hauing defended the Catholike Faith, with a reſolution moſt zealous & conſtant; yet notwithſtanding in the growth of his proſperity, did God take him from the world, and depriue the Children of faith, of their *Patron*, and princely *Defendor*, whereby (in common iudgement) God may ſeeme to be offended with his owne, and to leaue his

K. Edward.

The wonderfull effects of Gods prouidence.

Saints

Saints vndefended, to the ſtroake of perſecution, from which this holy King had defended them. But thus to iudge of God were wicked and falſe; becauſe we ſee the Goſpell (by that interruption) did ſpread it ſelf with much more generall acceptation: the blood of holy Martyrs being a holy ſeed, whereby the Church ſpread into a large generation, and who knoweth but God (to manifeſt to all the world, the faith and obedience of his holy Saints in the Church of *England*,) ſuffered this perſecution for the glory of their memorie, & for a demonſtration to all men, what numbers of true *Catholike Chriſtians* had flouriſhed vnder the protection of King *Edward* their *Patrone* and princely *Defendor*. The Saints hereby exchanging their mortall & variable life, for eternity & perpetuall reſt; their deaths begetting the liues of many holy men like them, whereby the number of Gods ſeruants was much augmented, to the glory of God, and proſperity of his Church. And therefore let no man condemne the worke of Gods prouidence, but yeeld his obedience to the good pleaſure of God,

The blood of the Martyrs was the ſeed of the Goſpell.

The deaths of a few, was the life of many.

God is mercifull in his iudgements.

and let him know that God is mercifull euen in his iudgements; and that hee can make that which doth seeme to threaten vs most, to be the Ladder whereby we may ascend the higheſt of all preferments, the fauour of God, and the fellowſhip of his holy Saints.

The Kings death.

Thirdly, King *Edward* being dead, the ſtate grew verie ſtormie and full of greate buſineſſe the cauſe being who ſhould ſucceed the King, in which controuerſie the kingdome was deuided; the greateſt part of the Counſell, and the Nobility, proclaiming Lady *Iane* Daughter to the *Duke of Suffolke*, whoſe Mother was Daughter to *Mary* King *Henries* Siſter, firſt married to the French King, and after to *Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke*. But the greateſt part of the Commons, and ſome of the Nobility, adhering to Lady *Mary* eldeſt Daughter to King *Henrie* the Eighth, by his firſt wife Queene *Katherine* of *Spaine*: and this occaſion was the trouble and death of many honourable and worthy perſonages; For whether King *Edward* of his owne election, or wrought by the

Great occaſions of trouble in the kingdome.

The nobility & commons diſagree in the choice of their Prince.

King Edward euill counſelled.

per-

perſwaſion of others (I know not) had by his laſt Will and Teſtament, intereſted the Ladie *Iane*, to the inheritance of his kingdomes; for this cauſe (as was pretended) that the State might ſtill continue the profeſſion of the Proteſtant Religion, which could not be hoped in the gouernement of *Queene Mary*. But howſoeuer the King did thus bequeath his kingdomes, it is very likely hee was drawne thereto by perſwaſion of his nobles; eſpecially of the two Dukes, *Northumberland* and *Suffolke*, becauſe hereby the inheritance was conueyghed to their iſſue, to whom (in right) it did not belong, neither is it likely the King of his owne motion, would haue diſinherited his owne Legitimate ſiſters, to intereſt one further off. And if Religion was the cauſe, why was not choiſe rather made of Queene *Elizabeth*, then Lady *Iane*? Shee being by much neerer in the degrees of blood, and altogether as aſſured in the Proteſtant Religion. And therefore certainely the King was moued by others to offer this iniurie to his neereſt blood

Northumberland & Suffolke *the cauſe of this great iniurie*

Reaſons why the King did it not of his owne motion but by perſwaſion.

Fourthly, And if the queſtion be demanded,

A doubtfull queſtion reſolued.

ded, whether in this caſe it was lawfull for the King to tranſlate the inheritance of his kingdomes. I anſwer, that howſoeuer the pretence is faire and good, yet was the practiſe euill, becauſe wrong was offered; and thoſe ends are neuer good, the which are compaſſed by euill meanes; and to tranſlate inheritance where it ought not, is to contradict Gods prouidence, by whoſe wiſedome all things are ordered. And therfore (no doubt) this offence of thoſe *Dukes* and their confederates, conſpiring with them this vnlawfull end, was the cauſe that God did ſuffer the power of their enemies, to preuaile to their deſtruction. For God is the Father of *Truth*, and the God of *Iuſtice*; neither would he that men ſhould attempt to alter the courſe of his prouidence, or (by any violent and euill meanes) purſue an end, be it neuer ſo Religious and holy. For good men muſt vſe onely good meanes to reach good ends. And therefore this practiſe of theſe *Dukes* in the iudgement of Religion was not good, notwithſtanding in ſtate practiſe it hath example, and may ſeeme allowable.

Good ends cannot be compaſſed by euill meanes.

God is the Father of truth.

What good men muſt do.

Obſeruations

Obseruations { *Diuine.* / *Pollitique.* / *Morall.*

FIRST, there is no pretence how faire soeuer, can giue authority and strength to vnlawfull actions. For God who is all-sufficient, and who hath decreed all good things, hath likewise deuised all good meanes to compasse them; therefore euery good worke doth consist of lawfull matter and forme, for no euill thing can bee well done, neither can any good thing bee done euilly. *Diuine.*

Secondly, When God by death doth preuent the hopes that are had of a vertuous Prince, it doth not argue against the worthinesse of the Prince, but it doth argue and conclude the vnworthinesse of the times, for in such a case the Prince doth inherit happines, but his people suffer miserie.

Thirdly, It was both foolish and wicked in the two Dukes, *Northumberland* and *Suffolke* to labour to erect and secure a state to their

their poſterity, with iniuries ſo apparant, and palpable. For though God many times ſuffer intruſions into titles, he doth neuer eſtabliſh them.

Pollitique. Fourthly, In the diſcretion of *State* it cannot be thought otherwiſe, but where there is vſurpation and falſe intruſion, there is a miſerable affliction with feare and Iealoſie, which neither the power or pollicie of any ſuch State can auoid, ſo long as God ſhall not ſuffer their violence to preuaile againſt the liues of the true inheritors.

Fifthly, It is a *Pollitique* wiſedome in a Prince to ſuſpect the ſincerity of al ſuch ſtate aduiſe, that hath principall reference to the aduancement of ſuch Counſellors. For in this caſe it is often true, that men will not ſpeake their iudgements but their affections.

Morall Sixthly, To be ordered by lawfulneſſe in all our actions, is not onely the iudgement of conſcience but of humanity and Morall diſcipline; For Morall learning doth determine that there is nothing profitable, that is not lawfull.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

A Comparison betweene King Iosias *of Iuda, and King* Edward *of England.*

FIRST, to compare King *Iosias* of *Iuda*, with King *Edward* of *England*, is the most equall comparison of any two in the Storie of holy Kings, both of them hauing with equall diligence, and victory, fought Gods quarrell, to the glory of their God, the reformation of his seruice, the abolishing of Idolatrie, and the confusion of the euill Ministers thereof. First, for their age when they began their Reignes: King *Iosias* began his gouernement the eighth yeare of his age; and King *Edward* the ninth of his, wherein they very neerely consent, and whereby God hath giuen

Iosias *of Iuda and* Edward *of England.*

Their age when they began their Reigne.

uen proofe to the world, that the power of his Spirit, can as well preuaile in them of youth, as in those of better yeares and experience; he being able to make the Childe and the strong man, alike victorious, in a cause which hee shall please to protect; as was this of these two holy Kings, both of them equally conspiring one end, (the truth of Religion) and holy worship. Againe, *Amon*, *Iosias* his Father left the kingdome of *Iuda* in the exercise of Idolatry, and so did King *Henrie Edwards* Father leaue the State of *England* in the practise of Popish Idolatrie; hauing onely by suppressing of Abbeyes, taken from those Idols their ornaments and wealth, not vtterly destroying them as did *Iosias* and King *Edward*. Againe, *Iosias* when he vnderstood the will of God by hearing his Chancellor *Shaphem* reade the booke of the Law, did accordingly frame himselfe in all obedience. So King *Edward* when he vnderstood by the Learned men of his Realme, such as *Cranmer*, *Latymer*, *Ridley* and others, followed the Lords businesse with like zeale and constancie, as did

Both of these Kings conspiring one holy end.

Both their Kingdomes were corrupted with idolatrie.

Both of them yeeld their obedience to holy perswasion & effect their purpose

did *Iosias*; not onely aboliſhing the falſe, but eſtabliſhing the true forme of Gods ſeruice. Againe, as *Iosias* left the kingdome of *Iuda* to an euill Succeſſor, his Son *Iehoahaz*, who againe prouoked the people to Idolatrie: So likewiſe King *Edward* left the inheritance of the Church and kingdome of *England*, to his Siſter *Mary*, who (like *Iehoahaz Iosias* his Sonne) did againe reſtore the euill practiſe of *Idolatrie* and ſuperſtitious Poperie vtterly defacing the godly building, which her holy Brother had ſo carefully erected. Againe, as God did keepe his promiſe with *Iosias*, which was to preſerue *Iſraell* the time of his life, in proſperity and reſt. So did God likewiſe preſerue England in plenty and victory, all the time of King *Edward*. And therefore theſe two holy kings, ſeeme to conſpire in all ſaue their deaths. *Iosias* dying in the field, king *Edward* in his bed; the one reigning thirty and one yeares, the other but ſixe yeares and odd moneths; and yet in this hath king *Edward* the greater honour, that he in ſixe yeares did happily finiſh that, which the other was thirty one yeares

Both theſe Kings left their States to holy ends but euill ſucceſſors.

Both of them fortunate to their Kingdomes.

The honour of King Edward.

yeares in compaſſing, but aboue all hath he exceeded him in leauing to poſterity that moſt famous Defendreſſe the Ladie *Elizabeth* his Siſter, who afterwards did proue the glory of her Sex, and the admiration of all the world.

2. Elizabeth.

OF

OF QVEENE MARIE, AND of the alteration of the State in the beginning of her Time.

CHAP. XVIII.

FIRST, I am now to change my Argument, and to write not of mercy, but of misery, of the aduersity, not of the prosperity of the Gospell, and how the Catholike Faith was offended and not defended, by the Successor Queene *Marie*, who made the most miserable change in the state of *England*, that euer that Nation indured; shee

Q. Marie. The change shee made in the Church of England.

The light of Truth put out.

The Queene obscured the glory of this Nation.

The purpose of the Historie of this Queenes time.

ſhe defacing the glorious worke of her Predeceſſor of K. *Edward* her princely brother, extinguiſhing the lights of *Truth*, whereby men were directed in the way of life, & obſcuring al knowledge in the miſt of *Ignorãce*, and blacke error, in which blindneſſe the Chriſtian world had for many yeares wandered. This Eclipſe being now againe (by the interpoſitiõ of her darke time) brought vpon this Nation. So that no light of *Truth* was in her time to be ſeene, ſaue onely at the burning Stakes of *Martyrs*, which holy fire did kindle a Religious zeale in many Spectators, that beheld the mercileſſe crueltie of the tormentors, and the Chriſtian patience of holy Saints tormented.

Secondly, And therefore I am not (as before) to declare wherein Queene *Marie* hath defended the Catholike Faith, becauſe ſhee neuer defended it in the leaſt particular: but (of the contrarie) how ſhee did bend the powers of her endeauour, both againſt the profeſſion and the profeſſors of true Chriſtian Faith, ſeeking by all violent and bloodie meanes, to depreſſe the proſperity of Reli-

Religion, whereof (by the dignity of her place) she was made defendresse. And in *Truth* it doth grieue me that I am to write the dishonor of this Queene; which willingly I would auoide, were the cause any other but *Religion*, & but that the declaration of these times, do tie me to a necessity of *Truth*, from which I dare not aberre: for it were an euill presumption in any one, to presume to write History, & then to obscure the truth thereof vpon what cause soeuer. For thereof would issue a double inconuenience. First he should wrong the vnderstandings of men in misreporting the *Truth*, & also lay an euil imputation on his name, in suppressing the knowledge of *Truth*; which is the life and true mouing soule of all Historie.

The truth of History must not for any consideration be concealed.

The inconuenience of misreporting the truth of Historie.

Thirdly, And this I write in fauour of Q. *Marie*, because of her extraordinary indu-ments of Nature. God hauing giuen her so much Maiesty, and princely spirit, as might serue to rule the greatest command in the world; & if to her other gifts, God had giuen her the knowledge of his *Truth*, she had well deserued to haue bene named most excellēt,

Queene Marie her extraordinarie indu-ments of Nature.

& to haue exceeded all the famous Queenes in the world, saue her sister the most famous *Elizabeth*, who hath exceeded her and al the world in the honour of true deseruing.

Q. Elizabeth incomparable.

Fourthly, Yet notwithstanding, all these rare excellencies of nature merit little but only pittie: for if the best beauty of nature, haue not the benefit of grace, the greatest ornaments therof, are (then) but punishment to them that so enioy them. And therefore they that haue not the gifts of grace, haue nothing of worth though they haue all that nature can giue them: and happie had Q. *Marie* bene if nature had giuen her lesse, and grace more; because any little breath of Gods Spirit is more worth than all other blessings whatsoeuer; For nature adornes the body, & grace the soule of euery one that hath it, & commonly where the power of wit & great spirit is in any one Subiect, not moderated by grace, they are then meanes to make the enioyers of them most dangerous instruments, because nature cannot moue it selfe to good, but naturally to euill; and as the naturall motion is more easie to the mouer than

Nature without grace doth merit nothing.

The least gift of grace is more worth then the whole riches of Nature.

The gifts of Grace.

The gifts of nature without grace are dangerous in him that hath them.

than the violent. So the gifts of nature are more inclinable to euill than to good ends, being moued to euill by their owne proper motion, but to goodnesse by the motion of grace, which in all naturall things is violent & against nature. And therfore was the Q. more dangerous, hauing so much of nature, because she was therby armed for euill, the want of grace making her runne her natural course, & her great spirit & other naturall indiments, spurring her forward in her euill passage, whereby she became enemie to her self, mouing her self to her own destruction.

The motion of Grace is against Nature.

The Queene an enemie to her selfe.

Fifthly, But that which made Q *Marie* monstrous in her euill, was the two much credit she gaue to euill counsell, suffering her selfe to be transported, by the violent spirits of euill and reuengefull men, who conceiuing a grounded displeasure for some hard vsage they indured in K. *Edwards* time, now take aduantage to reuenge the cause for which they had indured displeasure; & these men (like euill spirits) breathed the spirits of indignation into the Queenes heart, & moued her to effect most bloodie & horrible deeds,

The Q. great ouersight.

Gardiner, Bonner *the Queenes euill instruments.*

to the great diſpleaſure of God, and diſhonour of her princely place.

Sixthly, for it cannot be imagined that a Ladie of her ſpirit, being (in humane reſpects) merciſull & compaſſionate, would haue entred her gouernement with ſuch tyrannie & terror; bearing in both hands deſtruction, & (like *Reuenge* her ſelf) entring the ſtage of her gouernement with fire & blood) had ſhe not bene moued thereto by euil perſwaſion. Neither can it be but the Q. conſcience would condemne the courſe of her violent proceeding, & that ſhe would iudge the large effuſiō of chriſtiā blood, ſtood not with the honour of her name, nor with the *Truth* of Religion: yet ſo powerfull is the authority of them we truſt, (eſpecially in the caſe of Religion and conſciēce,) as that many times we ſuffer our ſelus to be led againſt our own perſwaſiōs, by a reuerence we beare to other mens opiniōs

The Q good nature much abuſed. She entred her gouernment with great Tyrannie.

Thoſe wee truſt moſt may beſt deceiue vs.

Seuenthly, And this no doubt was the cauſe why the Queene was ſo reſolued in in her bloodie perſecutions, ſhee giuing credit to their perſwaſion whom ſhee reputed moſt Reuerend, and Learned; and they perſwading her, ſhe could not diſcharge the of-

A bad perſwaſion.

fice of her Soueraigne place, nor defend the Catholike Faith, but by the extirping the *Proteſtant Religion*, which (in their opinion) was Hereſie in the higheſt degree: neither could ſhee (as they thought) ſuppreſſe the generall fauour, that profeſſion had got in generall eſtimation; but by ſeuerity & rigorous laws, wherein they were farre deceiued For it is impoſſible that any *Pollicie* of man ſhould be able to ſupplant Gods Husbandrie, which he hath made proſperous: the Truth whereof is manifeſt in the experience of theſe perſecuting times, when as the death of one holy man was the life of many. God raiſing a holy generation out of the aſhes of his holy *Martyrs*, the Church not decreſing but increaſing by the ſtroake of perſecution. And in this caſe was the Queene counſelled, as *Rehoboams* was by his young ſtates men, to make the yoake of perſecution heauie: & whereas her Father did chaſtiſe with rodds, ſhe ſhould correct with ſcourges: and this was the euill counſell wherewith the Queene was ordered, for ſhee made her yoake heauier than all her Predeceſſors had done,

Theſe euill Counſellors much deceiued.

God raiſeth a new generation of holy men, from the aſhes of Martyrdome.

1 King. 12. 10

done, and (in truth) insupportable for any true Christian Professor.

Their Counsell was wicked pollicie, but no pietie.

Eighthly, And therefore this Counsell of theirs may haue *Pollicie* but no *Piety*, for if the State in King *Edwards* time, had vsed *Gardiner* and *Bonner* with like seuerity, and had taken from them their euill liues, which they had iustly forfeited, then had not these euill Ministers bene the cause of so much blood shed, neither happily, should the Queene haue had any such as they, to haue prouoked her to such dishonour and vngodly practise; for it is needfull *Pollicie*, that the haughty spirits of men, that haue authority and greatnesse, must either not be offended, or being moued to offence, must bee then made sure from taking Reuenge. And it had bene good for the Christian State, that the ambitious spirit of *Winchester*, had either not bene discontented, by his disgrace and imprisonment, or being so offended, to haue made him sure from reuengefull practise; and if this had thus come to passe, no doubt much Christian blood had bene saued, which by his meanes perished. Neither had

A respect of pollicie.

had the Queene come into that ignominy of blood and cruelty; shee being in her own Nature rather inclined to pittie, and mercifull respect then otherwise. And therefore though the time of Queene *Maries* gouernement, was the most bloodie persecution that euer was in this Land, (I thinke) euer since it had a Christian Prince, yet was this Ladie, otherwise disposed in her owne Nature; neither would shee haue made her name so monstrous in blood, had not her conscience perswaded a necessity, shee being so resolued by their perswasion, who (shee thought had authority to iudge her.

Gardiner the euill spirit which most tempted the Queene to her seueritie.

The power of conscience.

Obseruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, Diuinity doth admit no distinction of men, but the difference of good and bad; for Gods fauour doth not look as mans doth; men iudge by externall, but God by internall euidence. God is no accepter of persons, but men accept nothing but

Diuine.

the perſons of men: and therfore it is often ſeene, that thus God and the world diuide their ſeueralls; God markes his with Grace, the world hers with Nature and Fortune.

Pollitique. Secondly, It is a pollicie of long practiſe and large proofe, that Prieſts, Ieſuites, and men of ſpirituall function, are appointed for State deſignes, as the moſt pregnant and conuenient men; for they haue this odds, that beſides their helps of learning, and much experience; they haue alwaies the reuerence of their profeſſion, which vndoubtedly (with people of their owne faith) doth gaine them, and their perſwaſions extraordinary credit.

Morall. Thirdly, It is a prouidence worthy of euery particular man, not raſhly to be moued to any fact or opinion, by the loue or reuerence we haue to the perſons of them that would perſwade vs; becauſe in this caſe we doe not ſatisfie reaſon, but affection.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

In what particulars Queene Marie did most offend the Catholike Faith.

FIRST, to remember euery particular grieuãce in this Queenes time, were a labour infinite, neither is it my purpose to trauell so largely therein, as others before mee haue done. And therefore I will (onely) reduce to memory, some particulars of most consequẽce, referring him that shal require further satisfaction, to the ecclesiasticall writings of those times, wherein they are largely discoursed: neither among these the euill fortunes of the *Duke* of *Northumberland*, nor of his Sonne and daughter, the Lord *Gilford Dudley*, and the Ladie *Iane* his Wife, because the

The Duke of Northumberland.

The Duke guilty of his fortunes.

the *Duke* hath worthily deserued his fortunes, and therefore did not receiue wrong from the Queene and State. And though the Ladie *Iane* and the Lord *Gilford* her Husbād, were forced to take the enterprize, they themselues being meerely passiue in that businesse, yet hauing proceeded therein so far as they did. I see not how Queene *Marie* could giue them life and secure her selfe, especially considering the present condition of the State, how inclineable it was then to imbrace any occasion of quarrell.

In respect of State.

The Q. first offence.

Secondly, That wherein the Queene did first offend the Christian Faith, was in taking into her protection, such who had before declared themselues enemies to truth and Religion, and this was at her first comming to the Crowne, giuing liberty and honour to such men, whom her princely brother had before imprisoned, & degraded; for by this she opened hell, & let loose those euill spirits which King *Edward* had shut vp; who breathing Reuenge, set the Kingdome in combustion, burning and bloodying the holiest and best members thereof, to the dishonour

Gardiner Bonner and others.

The cruelties of these times.

of

of the Prince and Nation; the diſcomfort of holy Chriſtians, and to the diſcountenance of the Catholike Faith, and this (in a double reſpect) was euill in Queene *Marie*: Firſt, (hereby) ſhee gaue an aſſured demonſtration how (in the caſe of Religion) ſhee was affected. Secondly, ſhee armed reuenge in in theſe men, giuing it authority, and the countenance of great place, wherewith they became moſt terrible.

A double reſpect.

1.

2.

Thirdly, And with this prologue, did Queene *Marie* begin the Tragedie of her life, fitting her with actors who had well learned their parts of blood & perſecution; outtruding them of much better merit, whom ſhee found in honourable and Reuerend places eſtabliſhed, as Doctor *Cranmer* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburie*, the Arch Biſhop of *Yorke*, the Biſhop of *VVincheſter* and many others, giuing their dignities and places to their greateſt enemies; men not comparable to them in learning and holy life, exceeding them onely in cruelty and blood: who hauing gotten the ſword of authority (once) into their hands, would not ſheath it, before it

How the Q. began her gouernement

D. Cranmer and others.

The Papiſts.

it had bene made drunke with the blood of Saints, nor before the meaſure of their ſins were full, whom God (for the pleaſure of his will, and for the glory of his Saints) did ſuffer and for a time forbeare.

In reſtoring the Abbeyes.

Fourthly, in reſtoring the Nurſeries of all abominations, the *Abbeyes* and *Monaſteries* ſhe had in giuing; ſhe did much offend the Catholike Faith; becauſe thoſe aſſemblies were found to abuſe the name of holineſſe, making it a cloake to couer the bodie of their wickedneſſe: who (like horſeleeches) ſucke the blood and beſt maintenance of the Kingdome, to ſupport their lazie and moſt licentious trade of liuing; and in this did the Queene not onely offend the truth of Religion, but alſo the proſperity of her State in being ſo euill a preſident, and in giuing ſo much wealth to idle and altogether vnprofitable people, and not onely idle but euill vſers of their riches & large poſſeſſions; to the high offending of God, the wrong to Chriſtian Religion, and the impouerifhing of the Common-Wealth: all which reſpects the Queene ought carefully to haue regarded.

The euill of a bloody life.

In reſpect of State.

Idle and euil vſers of wealth.

Fifthly,

Fifthly, Againe, the *Queene* restoring them did condemne the gouernement of her Father, by whom they were dissolued, her making them of such necessity in a Christian Kingdome, made him an euill doer to suppresse them, whereby she did dishonour her Father in that wherein he was most honourable, he deseruing the honour of his new stile, in this and in his act of Supremacie onely; both which she vtterly disclaimeth, damning the deed, and the honourable merit of her Father, building againe that euill foundation, which he to his honour had cast downe. And therefore if he by suppressing them hath deserued to bee stiled *Defendor of the Faith*: shee then by supporting them, may be iudged to haue offended that Catholike Faith whereof she was made Defendresse.

The Queene in her iudgement condemned her Father.

The Queene erecteth that Idolatrie which her Father had defaced.

E contrario.

Sixthly, But that which is most worthy of sad remembrance in this Queenes time was the alteration of Religion: the reducing the Church of *England* to their former condition of Popish Idolatry, which (in the happie time of King *Edward*) had bene discontinued,

The worst of the Queenes euills.

continued, she inhibiting al her subiects vpon grieuous paines, to acknowledge that profession of Religion, which she found in the State established, binding them to seuere lawes, to that Romish obedience which formerly they had abiured.

Her establishing of Poperie.

Seuenthly, And in this she did oppose her selfe with al violence against the Catholike Faith, as if she meant at one blow to bee the death of faith & true religiõ; she disclaiming the good & proclaiming the bad; destroying Gods holy Temple, to build the groaues & altars of *Idols*, & this she did with such appetite, that her gouernement was scarce begun before this was finished. So easily is mãs nature carried by violẽce & forcible pursuit, to execute the most wicked and vngodly ends.

Her full opposition against the Catholike Faith.

Her forwardnes in punishing.

Mans nature.

Eighthly, And as this alteration of Religion, was greatly to the offence of Catholike Faith, so was it also very preiudiciall to the State, the Kingdome hereby loosing the Lordship of it selfe, which King *Henrie* with much hazard, & great trauel had recouered. And assuredly if the Q. conscięce could haue bene perswaded, she would neuer for any cause,

The alteration of Religion is preiudiciall to the Commõwealth.

cause, haue giuen the *Pope* or any other *Potentate*, the supremacie of her own state, and among all other least of all to the *Pope*, who hath no principality proper, but onely a gouernement compounded of many thefts; he hauing taken from euery christiā Prince somwhat of reuenew or dignity to make vp the measure of his greatnes. And it was great ouersight in the Q. to commend the trust of her state to the *Pope*, whose ambition & auarice, hath made him euer inclineable to deceiue: for when the couetous hath the treasure in keeping, it is hard to make him honest; & he that hath nothing but by theft, wil be glad to imbrace oportunity & fit occasiō. And therefore by thus altering religion, she did not only offend the Catholike faith, but dishonor the *English nation*, binding it againe in the bonds of forraigne power from which her brother had redeemed it.

The Q conscience abused.

The Pope hath not principality proper.

The Q. ouersight.

The English nation dishonoured by the Queene.

Ninthly, And from this act of Q. *Maries* did proceed another equally euill or worse, whereby she hath got a name of blood and crueltie, and whereby she hath run her selfe into the highest degree of euill and this

was

The Q. persecutions of holy men.

was the persecution of holy and faithfull men; slaughtering Gods Saints, with such fury and heathenish heate, as may well declare the Religion and Faith of the persecutors. For there is no profession of Christian Religion in all the world, except the Papisticall that thinke to merit by murder, blood and persecution: neither is there any that haue made their names so odious, by the effusion of Christian blood as they, whereby they haue made themselues the friends of *Antichrist*, but enemies to God, and to the truth of his holy Gospell. God hauing commanded his seruants to suffer, and not to inflict afflictions; for a Christians profession, is to beare the Crosse, and not to make it; and in euery euill worke holy men must suffer, and wicked men doe, for such was the condition of Christ the Lord of Christians, bearing the rebukes of all men; applying his sacred hands to heale the infirmities of men and not to wound and destroy them, and as (in the Nature of God) his mercie doth reioyce ouer all his workes, so all the sonnes of Grace delight in the workes of mercie,

No profession of Religion but the Popes that thinke to merit by blood & persecution.

Christians must beare the Crosse & not make it.

The example of Christ.

Mercy the most holy gift of grace.

mercie, and abhorre the deeds of miſerie, and deſire to preſerue and not to deſtroy the Images of God, nor the Temples of his holy Spirit, for ſuch were theſe holy Martyrs, who in this time of *Queene Mary*, witneſſed the truth of their Chriſtian profeſſion, in the burning flames of perſecution and cruell torture.

The Martyrs.

Tenthly, So great was the perſecution in theſe times, as that no Sex, no age, nor any condition of men were ſpared, the blind, the aged, and the Infant ſleeping in the holy death of Martyrdome: And if wee may beleeue the remembrance of thoſe miſeries as they are recorded, then children new borne at the ſtake, did periſh at the ſtake, little (but holy) Martyrs giuing their liues, as ſoone as they had them for the witneſſe of their Lord *Chriſt Ieſus*, and his truth, an example of ſtrange and incomparable crueltie, yet did the enuie of theſe times reach further, to the Sepultures of holy men deceaſſed, where the perſecutions euen there alſo would triumph, raking vp the bones and aſhes of good men, and after with great Ceremonie

The vehemencie of this perſecution.

For his booke of Acts and Monuments

Strange examples of enuie.

and acclamation burne them; a reuenge very admirable, and ſuch as onely the malice of the diuel could deuiſe. For the Graue is euery mans Sanctuarie, from which no man nor no offence can take him, without the breach of the Lawes of Nature and humanitie: and to perſecute and burne mens bones the life hauing long before left them, is a Iudgement moſt mercileſſe, for the doome of Nature will haue one man to die but once, neither ought reuenge to reach the graues of our greateſt enemies; it being enough for any that his enemy is dead, but more then crueltie to reuiue his death and to make him die againe. And therefore as *Iob* did blame his vncomfortable friend, becauſe they did perſecute him as God, and were not content with his fleſh. So wee may lawfully condemne this Popiſh perſecution, becauſe they reuenge like *Diuels*, and are not content with the *Death* of them they loue not, but will then perſecute the body, when they cannot the ſoule. God hauing taken that into his boſome of mercie, and into the ſafte of his protection.

The graue is euery mans Sanctuary.

The doome of Nature.

Note.

A reuenge like the reuenge of Diuels.

Eleuenthly,

Eleuenthly, And if we truly consider the bloody persecution of *Queene Maries* time, and with what vehemency it was moued, it will appeare to be of like crueltie with them of the heathen *Emperours* in the *Primitiue Church*, not for the number though very many, but for the manner and cruell circumstance.

The persecution equall with them of the Primitiue Church.

Twelfthly, Againe the *Queene* in marrying with *King Philip* of *Spaine*, may bee said to haue offended the *Catholike Faith*, because by that meanes shee tooke away all hope, to be reclaimed from the stiffe defence of Popish superstition, the *King* of *Spaine* being in most neare confederacie with the *Pope*. And this how preiudiciall it was to the profession of the Catholike Faith, may be easily considered, hee being chosen to assist the *Queene* in her defence of faith, by whom the enemies of faith were principally to be supported, and one so nearely bound to the *Popes* fauour, in respect of State practise, the *Pope* and the *Spanish King* being one anothers Ladder, whereby they haue ascended the steps of reputation and worldly greatnesse.

King Philip of Spaine.

The confederacie of the Spanish King and the Pope

The Iesuites supported by the Spanish King.

Rome and Spaine the ladders of one anothers rising.

In reſpect of State.

13. Againe, if wee regard the care of State, the *Queenes* marriage with the *Spaniſh King*, was not for the proſperitie and honour of the *Engliſh Nation*, but rather a meanes to depreſſe the glory thereof. For howſoeuer the *Queene* and the State, did articulate with *King Philip*, thinking thereby they had ſecured the ſouereigntie of *England*, by binding him to certaine Limitations; yet was that no aſſurance, but onely a falſe colour, to blinde and ſatisfie the groſſe vnderſtandings of the vulgar, leſt by Rebellion and tumult, they ſhould oppoſe themſelues againſt that purpoſe; for it is not to be thought, that any obligation can binde ſuch men, as aſpire ſoueraigntie, neither is it in the practiſe of great States, to binde themſelues, but onely for aduantage, and then to caſt off their bonds, when their practiſe is ripe, and when they dare diſcouer their true intentions. For bonds to him that hath power to breake them, rather offend then profit: and in great Spirits, the remembrance to bee tyed to any Conditions, doth beget in them a deſire of Libertie, and prouoke

The Spaniſh King bound to certaine conditions.

No obligatiõ can binde the deſire of the ambitious.

Note.

vokes them to breake that faith, whereunto they are obliged. And from this marriage of *Queene Marie* what could be hoped, but either ciuill ſtrife in diſpoſing the Succeſſion, which by this meanes might haue had many Competitors, or elſe that this Kingdome and the dominions thereof belonging, ſhould haue bene vnited to the Soueraigntie of *Spaine*, which already (like *Hydra*) is become monſtrous in largeneſſe; hauing vnited to that one body many heads many large dominions. And if this had ſucceeded (which no doubt was the expectation of Spaine) then had the glory of this Iſle euen then periſhed, and our condition had bene alike miſerable as is now that heretofore famous Kingdome of *Portingale*, and other great States by him obtained. And this kingdome which heretofore hath bene the ſupporter of that, ſhould then haue ſtood at diſcretion looſing the ſoueraigntie, and fortunate honour which worthily had made it very famous; the ambition of that State riſing by the fall of ours; the miſery of this rayſing the glory

The inconuenience of the Queenes Marriage.

The greatnes of Spaine.

The expectation of Spaine

Portingale.

England the ſupporter of Spaine.

The inconuenience.

glory of that, and we of Conquerors ſhould haue bene ſeruants, and ſlaues, to that people whom before we had conquered: and they (by our oppreſſion) ſhould haue wanted a power to haue reſtrained them from the generall Conqueſt of Chriſtendome, the which by vs hath principally bene letted, and by them moſt deſirouſly purſued. And therefore (in reſpect of *Pollicie* and the practiſe of State) this marriage of *Spaine* was very hurtfull for our Nation, ayming directly at the vtter ouerthrow of the *Engliſh Monarchie*; wherein Queene *Marie* was neither *Poilitique* nor *Holy*, not holy in not defending the Catholike Faith, combining her ſelfe ſo neerely with the *Popes* Confederate; and not pollitique, in hazerding the honour of her Kingdomes, in the hands of one ſo dangerous, as the King of *Spaine* then was, who already was ſo great, as made him iuſtly feared, and his proceedings ſuſpected. God (of his goodneſſe) diſpoſing otherwiſe of this buſineſſe, deriuing ſtill a Succeſſion of Kingly power within our ſelues of our owne nation and of

In reſpect of pollicie.

The Queene neither poltitique nor holy.

The prouidence of God in this buſineſſe.

our

our owne Kingly line; to the better defence of the Catholike Faith, and to the perpetuall honour of this our *Englisſh Monarchie.*

14. Laſtly, *Queene Marie* in her vehement and vniuſt perſecuting her moſt vertuous Siſter the Ladie *Elizabeth* (afterwards Queene) did hereby very much offend the Catholike Faith, becauſe among all the Religions at that time in *England*; this Ladie was chiefe, not onely for holineſſe of life, but alſo for her eminence of place, and dignity; being heyre apparant to the Crowne, and in whom the hope of King *Henries* iſſue onely remained. And therefore the right of Succeſſion remaining in her Royal perſon, made her more than a priuate one, and made the euill of her Siſters perſecution more monſtrous, being directed againſt the life of one both holy, and a *Princeſſe*, and to whom God had purpoſed, to giue the inheritance of theſe kingdomes, and the office to defend the profeſſion of faith, and holy worſhip. And if wee but remember the moſt gratious gouernement of this Ladie, the time ſhee was Queene, and

Queene Elizabeth.

The hope of King Henrie *his iſſue.*

The gouernment when ſhe was Q.

and how nobly ſhee hath defended the profeſſion of *Faith* and *Religion*, wee ſhall thereby iudge how much euill *Queene Marie* had done, if the euill practiſe againſt her Siſter *Elizabeth* had preuailed. Neuer any *Defendreſſe* nor euer any Queene in the world, hauing finiſhed Gods quarrell with more honour, or with better reſolution than ſhee did. And therefore if this holy life had periſhed, the glory of her honourable actions had bene preuented, neither had the world euer ſeene the admirations of her time, nor the ſeuerall ſtates of chriſtendome, euer had ſo noble a *Patroneſſe* to ſupport them, in their iuſt quarrells, againſt the aſpiring inſolencie of the ambitious: nor had the holy Saints on earth liued ſecure, vnder the late protection of her mercifull wings, whoſe holy faith ſhee hath victoriouſly defended againſt all oppoſitions, cutting off (not by *Pollicie*) onely (as did *Iudith*) but by her power the head of *Holopherues* (*Idolatrie*.) And thus triumphing in the ſpoyle of Gods enemies ſhee hath purchaſed, an euerliuing name of honour, and an euerla-

Queene Elizabeth incomparable.

What hurt the Q. death had bene to Chriſtēdome

Iudith and Holopherues.

euerlasting inheritance in heauen, with God and with the Children of Faith, whose quarrell shee hath most honourably defended.

The glorie of Queene Elizabeths deeds.

15. And Queene *Marie* in seeking to destroy so holy a life did not the office of her Christian place, nor defend the quarrell of Faith whereunto her title bound her.

16. In respect of State likewise, was this very euill in the *Queene*, because by this iniurie to her neerest blood, shee sought to hinder the lawfull succession. For the Ladie *Elizabeth* being dead, it might proue quarrelsome, who should next inherit. *Queene Marie* hauing no issue to succeed her, was like to leaue the State to much trouble, and to many Competitors. And if *Queene Elizabeth* had not succeeded, happily our Nation had not bene so famous in the honour and reputation of warlike exercise as now it is, neither had it flourished in the glorie of Learning, nor in the trauell of industrious artes as it hath, nor had there bene that peace, that plentie, and that security

In respect of State.

The inconuenience.

The glory of the English Nation in the gouernement of Q. Elizabeth.

rity which preſently we enioy; nor happily had the State bene thus left as by her it is, to a Prince of peace, full of hopefull iſſue, by whom and by whoſe poſterity, *England* may hope neuer to want a noble *Defendor* of it, and of the Catholike Faith. And therefore God onely bee praiſed who did preuent the euill, that euill men intended againſt that Ladie, againſt this Nation, and againſt the *Catholike Faith*. In all theſe reſpects may appeare the euill gouernement of theſe times, and how the *Queene* was led by diſhonourable meanes to an end moſt dangerous, the cauſe (as I haue ſaid) was onely the too much truſt the Queene gaue to euill Counſell whereby ſhee was violently carried againſt her owne Nature, to moſt vnchriſtian deſignes; for her conſcience did perſwade her, that thoſe things were of abſolute neceſſity, which (in truth) were altogether vnlawfull. And this was the Biſhop of *VVincheſter Stephen Gardiners* care, to ſet an edge on the Queenes offence, and to fit her for the ſtroake of perſecution, whereto in her Nature ſhe was

King Iames our Soueraigne.

God onely preuented the euill purpoſe of euill men.

Queene Marie led to diſhonourable ends.

The cauſe the perſwaſion of her conſcience.

Wincheſter Gardiner.

was not fit. And this hee did by the authority of his Religious place, whereto the Queene had ſpeciall reuerence, framing her ſelfe to doe that onely, which in her abuſed conſcience, ſhee thought was neceſſarie. For there is nothing can perſwade like conſcience, which in men of all Religions will deſire ſatisfaction and eaſe. And though our conſcience iudge falſly of *Truth*, yet cannot that Iudgement bee vnſatisfied, whithout Torment and much affliction: neither is there any ſo powerfull to perſwade vs, as them of whom we conceiue a reuerend opinion, and thinke Religious and holy; becauſe the opinion of holineſſe taketh away all ſuſpition. And therefore many times men ſeeming deuoute, and verie preciſe, are beſt able to deceiue; becauſe they are beſt credited; the greateſt pollititians working their moſt damned proiects by men-profeſſing ſanctimonious life: this being euer a foundation in that vile Art, that pretence and falſe couller are the hands of *Pollicie*, whereby

Nothing can perſwade like conſcience.

Who are moſt powerfull to perſwade vs.

Men ſeeming deuout are beſt able to deceiue.

The ground of euill pollicie.

whereby ſhee effecteth that which otherwiſe were impoſſible. And if wee remember the number of Conſpiracies, and Treaſonous deſignes attempted in this laſt age of the world, we ſhall ſcarce finde any one wherein men profeſſing Religion were not principalls, either plotters or practiſers. The experience of the time, finding ſuch men moſt fit inſtruments for ſuch deſperate attempts; becauſe they dare doe any thing, and can keepe counſell, and as it is ieaſtingly ſaid of playes, they are not pleaſant without a *Foole*; ſo it may bee ſeriouſly ſaid of Treaſons, they are not bloodie without a *Prieſt*, theſe men hauing got them a name of admiration, for acting the moſt horrible parts of blood and treaſon; wherein they haue approued themſelues forward but moſt vnfortunane. And by theſe men was the better nature of Queene *Marie* much abuſed, making her (by their euill counſell) become odious to poſterity in ſhedding without mercy the blood of many holy Martyrs, treading vpon the face of *truth*, & dignifying Idolatrous & euill

Who are the chiefe plotters and actors of treaſons.

Why Prieſts are moſt fit for treaſons.

The office of Ieſuits.

By whom the Queenes nature was moſt abuſed.

euill ſeruice. Vnfortunate *Queene* to be deceiued by theſe euill Miniſters; but woe vnto them by whom the offence came; happie had ſhee bene, if they had neuer bene, and happie were we, if with vs they were not, for where they are, there is Faction, Conſpiracie, and Treaſon; and it is they and their houſe onely (that is the houſe of Poperie) that troubleth *Iſraell*.

Who they be that trouble the peace of Iſrael.

Obſeruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, There is nothing in this world, that can continue proſperity without all interruption. For the Spouſe of Chriſt (the *Church*) had neuer any ſuch immunity, but (like all other things, and for the worke of Gods glorie) ſhe doth often vary her *State*, and like the Sunne often in clouds, and ſometimes in *Eclipſe*. The reaſon is the will of God who hath determined to leade vs through

Diuine.

through this wilderneſſe, our pilgrimage to new *Ieruſalem*.

Secondly, It is the Popiſh Religion, but no Religion, to deſtroy and not correct, to iudge without mercy, and to bee terrible in the proſecuting their perſecutions. But our moſt diuine and ſacred Lord Chriſt hath ſaid *Bleſſed are yee when ye ſuffer theſe things*. Surely then curſed are they that doe them.

Thirdly, The iudgements of God haue relation to mens offence, being the effect of that cauſe, and therefore who knoweth but that God in iudgement to K. *Henrie*, gaue him this contrariety in his Children, to condradict and countermand one another in the forme of their gouernements, becauſe the King himſelfe was ſo full of contrarietie and vnſetled conſtancie, at one time perſecuting both profeſſions.

Pollitique. Fourthly, To reinduce the *Papall* authority into the Engliſh *State* was a maruellous improuidence in the Queene, and ſo direct againſt all rule of *State*, as that queſtionleſſe the Queene in this made her iudgement yeeld

yeeld to conſcience (as ſhe deemed it) which if ſhe had not bene a woman, ſhe would neuer haue done, or at the leaſt neuer ſo done without all limitation

Fifthly, The Marriage of Queene *Marie* with *Spaine*, was an oportunity for Spaine to depreſſe the glory of this Nation, for if the Queene had had iſſue by him, the principality had bene tranſlated to ſuch a Prince, as may yet iuſtly bee feared, to what extremities his growing Empire intendeth.

Sixthly, The Queenes error in theſe proceedings, was to receiue her *State* inſtructions, from ſuch Counſellors as did labour onely to frame her to their owne deſignes, not regarding the publike benefit of the *State*. For doubtleſſe had the Queene bene ordered by her *Pollitique State*, or by any one Counſellor in the *State* of honourable quallity, ſhe had not giuen ſo much of her title and Maieſtie to *Rome* and *Spaine* as by the perſwaſion of her Clergie Counſell ſhe did.

Seuenthly, So full of labour, ſtrife and *Morall.* 5

error

error is their life that vndertake the charge of much buſineſſe and great place, that the *Morall Philoſophers* doe pronounce them moſt happie and rich that can bee content with bleſſed pouerty.

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

Of certaine Discontents whereat Queene Marie *tooke great offence.*

FIRST, there is no man in this life, (especially if he be of great place or great spirit) that can free himselfe from occasions of discontent, wherein euery man may make triall of his owne vertue, and exercise his Christian patience in his moderate bearing them: For there is no victory equall to that a man hath of himselfe, neither any seruitude so base as to be ouercome of *Discontent*. And therefore the most worthy men haue euer triumphed ouer *Fortune*, thinking it a debasing of their Noble spirits, to be vanquished by so meane an enemie. And howsoeuer such

No man can free himselfe from Discontent.

The greatest victory, and the greatest seruitude.

The error of common iudgement.

The power of patience.

A moderation in griefe

For griefe is the true phyſicke of the minde.

The euill of diſcontentment.

Queene Maries punishment.

ſuch men (in common Conſtruction) are reputed moſt miſerable, that haue moſt cauſe of griefe, yet in true vnderſtanding it is otherwiſe: and then eſpecially, when the grieued hath patience (that true part of Man-hood) whereby he is able to make the greateſt burden of griefe eaſie. For ſo did the famous men in old time by manly Conſtancie, and ſo doe Chriſtians now by patience ſupport a liuing courage, in the middeſt of greateſt extremities: Yet euer muſt this moderation be regarded, that as our griefe may not vtterly deiect vs, ſo wee muſt haue ſenſe to feele and apprehend it, leaſt in the one extreame wee proue cowherds, in the other Fooles. For griefe is the true phyſicke of the minde, which being well applied doth correct and heale vs, but otherwiſe it doth deſtroy and make deſperate, and in this caſe doe men reuenge themſelues on themſelues, and double the meaſure of griefe wherewith they are afflicted.

Secondly, And this was Q *Maries* puniſhment, who doubtleſſe did verie much afflict

flict her selfe in the remembrance of her euill fortunes; some whereof I will relate, not obseruing the order of the time, wherein they were occasioned, but ranke them according to their degrees in greatnesse, and as the Queene found them most offensiue. And as the greatest, I remember first the trouble of her Conscience, whereby she became enemie to her selfe, and hatefull to her former proceedings, iudging them much more violēt, then the cause required, or then might stand with the honour of her name, and with the discharge of Christian Conscience, and this shee vnderstood by a generall sense of mercy, whereto in her Nature shee was inclinable, and from which shee was violently moued by the breath of bad perswasion. For though the Queene was made to beleeue, that her vehement persecuting the *Protestants* Religion, was necessarie for both states of Church and kingdome: yet when Christian blood was shed in that abundance, it much repented her; that shee (by that meanes) had giuen her name so bloody a remembrance. And in this case might

The trouble of her conscience.

Her owne iudgement of her owne proceedings.

Her Nature.

Protestants.

The queenes griefe.

Gardiner Bonner. Gen. 34. 30.

might ſhe ſay of *Gardiner* and *Bonner* (as *Iacob* did of his two Sonns, *Simion* and *Leui*) that they had made her name odious to euery mans eares, and that therefore they were Children of *Blood*. And ſurely the remorſe of conſcience, for her bloody gouernment, did very much afflict the Queenes minde, whereof ſhee would oftentimes giue demonſtration, and by words of diſlike, witneſſe how much ſhe did diſtaſte the furie of perſecution, and the generall waſte thoſe fires had made in her Kingdomes.

The Queene veri much in her ſelfe offended.

Thirdly, Neither need this ſeeme ſtrange to any that Q. *Marie* ſhould diſlike her ſelfe in her owne practiſe, becauſe wee know that Princes (though they haue ſoueraigne power ouer their Subiects; yet hath it ſuch limitation, as that Princes themſelues, ſomtimes are not free, nor can compaſſe thoſe ends, which moſt deſirouſly they would; & ſometimes are they forced to that they would not. The reaſon is, becauſe no prince in the world can ſupport himſelfe, without the aſſurance of his Subiects: and when the State is in Faction (as then it was for Religion) it is moſt

How the power of Princes is limited.

The reaſon.

Faction.

moſt dangerous for the Prince, to *Diſcontent* them by whom he is principally ſupported. And *Queene Mary* taking vpon her the protection of the *Romiſh Religion*, did then binde her ſelfe to the heads of that faction, leſt by diſcontenting them, ſhe ſhould haue runne her ſelfe into a generall offence, and ſo haue hazzerded the fortunes of her State. And this was to the *Queene* ſo great offence, as they onely can conceiue, who haue endured the torment of an offended conſcience.

Faction.

The torment of an offended conſcience.

Fourthly, Another cauſe of *Queene Maries* diſcontent was *King Philip* her husband, who either in truth or as ſhe thought, did not ſo louingly reſpect her as the ſacred bonds of marriage required, neither had ſhee iſſue by him according to her owne hope, and the expectation of her Subiects, and this did very much offend the *Queenes* patience, being by the Nature of her Sex moſt inclinable to apprehend ſuch diſcourteſie, and the rather becauſe of her princely place, and the great ſpirit of Maieſtie, which ſhee wanted not. For the *Kings* not regarding,

King Philip of Spaine.

Her want of iſſue.

The natures of women.

The Kings not regarding her.

ding, or his cold regarding her did conclude that (in his opinion) ſhe wanted of that worthineſſe he had formerly imagined, and that ſhee did not merit the truth of his loue and moſt kind affection, whereto his bond of Marriage did binde him, his not regarding her, debaſing her in worth and eſtimation, whereat ſhee might worthily take offence; the rather becauſe the *Queene* in her owne election, had preferred him to her loue, and to the honour of that Marriage before all other Princes in Chriſtendome, communicating with him the honours of her Crowne and Dignities, to the hazzard of her life and State, being contrary to the generall liking of her Subiects, and for which had bene very dangerous Rebellion in her kingdome. And therefore this offence taking of the *Queene*, was very cauſefull, and vpon iuſt conſideration conceiued; ſhee hauing done ſo much for him that deſerued ſo little, and he not recompenſing the merit of her high deſeruing.

Her iealouſie of her own merit.

The queenes deſeruing of King Philip.

The queenes offence in reſpect of King Philip very cauſefull.

Fifthly, A third cauſe of *Queene Maries* griefe was the loſſe of *Callis*, a towne of moſt impor-

The third cauſe of her Diſcontent

importance for the *English State*, especially considering the quarrell of those two kingdomes, *England* and *France*, who (besides the English claime to that Crowne & Dignity) haue euer had an honourable Contention to exceed each other in the reputation of Armes and warlike exercise; neither is it in reason to bee hoped that these two warlike Nations shall alwayes conspire peace, and for euer forget the emulation and glorious conquests of former times, hauing these maine prouocations to hinder it, the neareness of place, the equallity of power, the difference of Religion, and the claime to the lawfull inheritance, the least of which occasions, may serue to incense a forward spirit with desire of honourable Warre and Conquest. And then considering the importance of the Towne of *Callis*, for the English wars, and how by hauing it, the passage was euer open to enter that kingdome: and being recouered by the *French*, *England* may be then said to haue lost the key, by which it hath heretofore so easily entred, In these respects had the *Queene* good cause to grieue at so

was the losse of Callis.

Note.

Prouocations to French warres.

Callis the key of France.

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was the loſſe of Callis.

Note.

Prouocations to French warres.

Callis the key of France.

The reaſon of the Queenes griefe for the loſſe of Callis.

diſhonourable a loſſe, and the rather it being loſt by a meane power and in little ſpace, which had bene honourably defended many years againſt the whole power of *France*, and what other enuie ſoeuer to the glorie of her predeceſſors, the diſaduantage of her Succeſſors and her owne perpetuall diſhonour.

The rebellion of her ſubiects.

Sixtly & laſtly, the rebelling of her ſubiects did very much diſcontent her, becauſe ſhee thereby vnderſtood, how her gouernment was diſliked, by many of her beſt Subiects. For though it bee not a neceſſary Concluſion, that where there is Rebellion, there the State is miſgouerned: yet is Rebellion euer a cauſe that the gouernment is ſuſpected, and thoſe grieuances that are able to prouoke ſuch numbers of people againſt their Souereigne, are generally belieued to ariſe vpon more then common conſiderations. And therefore it is required in the perſon of a Prince, not onely to bee of worthie deſeruing, but alſo to ſeeme to be ſuch, becauſe it is moſt needfull for them to ſatisfie opinion, without which no Prince in the world

Rebellion a cauſe that the gouernement is ſuſpected.

What is required in the perſon of a Prince.

world can be ſaid to be great.

Seuenthly, Againe, the Rebells had ſuch forward ſucceſſe in their attempting, as thereby they did much diſtreſſe the *Queene*, and threaten the fortunes of her ſtate. For if the proiect had proceeded according to their plot, and as it was deuiſed by the chiefe Conſpirators; the iſſue was likely to haue proued much more dangerous. But Sir *Thomas VVyat* one of the chiefe Conſpirators, imagining the proiect was reuealed, diſcouered himſelfe in Armes, before the practiſe was Ripe, and before the time agreed vpon; whereby he was vnaſſiſted by his other Confederates, and the practiſe by this meanes became abortiue and periſhed by vntimely birth; which in likelyhood had otherwiſe ſucceeded, if the whole power of the Conſpirators, had bene vnited. Sir *Thomas* onely with his Countrie-men of *Kent*, hauing done ſo much as may ſeeme to haue wanted but little, to haue finiſhed the whole buſineſſe. And this no doubt was GODS worke, who is enemie to euerie euill practiſe, bee the pretence

The forward ſucceſſe of the Rebells.

One chiefe cauſe why they failed in their proiect.

Sir Thomas Wyat *of Kent.*

God the enemie of all Conſpirators

pretence neuer ſo fare and reaſonable.

Eighthly, Thoſe and many other occaſions of *Diſcontent*, had Queene *Marie*, whereby God gaue her to vnderſtand, how much he was diſpleaſed with her bloodie gouernement, and whereby (it may be) he had mercie on her weakeneſſe, in laying theſe gentle corrections on her, who had deſerued the ſeuerity of his angrie Iuſtice; ſhe being moſt vniuſt & moſt ſeuere in her perſecuting the Children of faith, whom by the authority of her princely place ſhee was bound to protect. The God of mercy be for euer praiſed, who hath ended in this Kingdome the miſerie of perſecution, making it die in the *Death* of Queene *Marie*, in whoſe gouernement it had got authority and life; and may it euer pleaſe God to deriue vpon his Church of England a perpetuall ſucceſſion of holy and reſolute Defendors of the *Catholike Faith*, to the honour of Gods diuine Maieſtie, the good of his beloued Children (the Children of Faith) and the true glorie of the Engliſh Nation, *Amen*.

Gods mercie in thus puniſhing the Queene.

The mercie of God to this Nation in the Queene s death.

Obſeruations

Obſeruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, Gods temporall afflictions are mercies, for they doe but remember vs our ſinnes, and inuite our repentance; yet they haue contrarie effects in contrarie ſubiects. For to ſome they are phyſicke to others poyſon, they rectifie ſome and deſtroy others. This difference haue the elect and the reprobate. *Diuine.*

Secondly, The common pretenced quarrell in all Rebellions, is either Religion, or vſurpation of Empire; yet neither of theſe can giue ſucceſſe to ſuch treaſonable attempts, becauſe they that would alter and tranſpoſe of Gods gouernement, and his officers, doe but fight againſt his prouidence, and contradict God in his owne appointments. In this caſe then, the beſt *Pollicie* is for men with patience to ſuffer, and let God with victorie doe. *Pollitique.*

Thirdly, *Diſcontentment* is ſuch a ſickneſſe in *Morall.*

in the soule, as that where it is vnmoderated, there is a necessarie distruction. Therefore the wise Morall man will oppose this enemie with reason, and inuincible patience and outtrude him from all society with his thoughts. For if there be any thing on Earth that can resemble hell it is *Discontent.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

OF REBELLION.

FIRST, It is not in my purpose to reckon vp the seuerall opinions of men in this argument neither to discourse at large herein, but onely to report my owne Iudgement, and that which I think is answerable in this question to Religion and holy reason. For if this controuersie were disputed, according to the *Pollitique practise* of time, and not by the rules of Religion, and reformed iudgement, it would be then verie controuersall, and require large circumstance, because the *Matchiuells* of these times, diuersly disagree in their seuerall iudgements, but if men desire onely to satisfie conscience, to such men the testimonie of God is sufficient, which ought

The diuers opinions of men in this Argument.

This controuersie must be iudged by Religion and not by pollicie

The Testimonie of God the best authority.

ought to ſquare the practiſes of all degrees of Chriſtian men, and to determine all controuerſies, be they neuer ſo important; But this tryall hath not alwaies authority in gouernement meerely pollitique, for *Religion* and *Pollicie*, are two diuers (or rather in full oppoſition) and that (many times) in the practiſe of State is commendable which in the iudgement of Religion is moſt damnable, becauſe they conſpire not one, but diſagreeing ends, neither can the quarrell of theſe two be euer reconciled, but onely by theſe conditions, that *Piety* may command *Pollicie*, and that ſuch *Pollicie* may bee onely in Chriſtian *States* allowable as may be ſeruant to the worke of holineſſe, and iudged lawfull by the ſentence of true Religion. And if theſe reſpects, had regard in Chriſtian States, then ſhould not Chriſtendome haue had that diſhonourable imputation, to bee reputed (of the barbarous Nations) vnfaithfull and full of diſhonourable practiſe: wherein the *Popes* haue eſpecially abuſed the Chriſtian Faith, who (vnder the outward face of holineſſe) haue contriued and effected

Religion and Pollicie two diuers.

The differẽce of their ends and practiſe.

How to reconcile piety and pollicie.

The Popes haue abuſed the Chriſtian Faith.

cted Conſpiracies and Treaſons of moſt horrible report, and ſuch as neuer were the like by men or diuells inuented.

Secondly, And theſe euill Miniſters doe arrogate to themſelues, authority (which they would deriue from God) not onely to licenſe Rebellion in a Chriſtian State, but alſo to command it vpon paine of damnation; a power which neuer any Chriſtian Prince durſt challenge, and a pollicie, whereby they haue principally inriched themſelues, with wealth and dignities, taken at the ſpoyle of Chriſtian Princes; and wherewith he doth yet vnderprop the falling ſtate of his Empire. And this how vnequall it is with Gods Word, may appeare to any iudgement, there being no example in the Storie of the Bible for his imitation, where any *Prieſt* did euer challenge any ſuch ſoueraigne authority.

The Pope doth challenge authority to licence Rebellion.

How the Pope doth inrich himſelfe.

The Pope no follower of any holy example.

Thirdly, And in reſpect of State practiſe, there was neuer any thing more diſhonourable, then for Princes and free States to enter voluntary into a ſeruitude ſo baſe & ſlauiſh, taking their honours from their owne heads,

In reſpect of State practiſe.

heads, to dignifie their mortall enemy, and to feed his ambition, which (like Hell) cannot be satisfied, who hath euer fed vpon the bowels of their wealth, and on the blood of Saints, and doth glorifie himself in the spoile of Christian Princes, and thus will doe, vntill God shall please to destroy him with the breath of his displeasure.

The example of King Dauid.

Fourthly, The example of K. *Dauid* may suffice to conclude against this doctrine; who notwithstanding he had Gods promise to inherit the kingdome of *Israel*, being by the Prophet anointed (by which God did crown him King) and knowing moreouer, that God had forsaken his master *Saul*, hauing taken his good Spirit from him, whereby he was Anathemate, and interdict by the sentence of God himselfe; yet did not *Dauid* (for all this) conspire against his master *Saul*, but onely sought to secure his life, by withdrawing him from the kings presence, who hee assuredly knew did seeke after his life. And when opportunity was offered him so fit, as that he at one stroake, might both haue reuenged the iniuries of his greatest Enemy,

Dauid *would not conspire the death of* Saul *though he were a Reprobate.*

Dauid *refuseth the offer of opportunitie to reuẽge.*

and

and vpon ſuch an Enemy, as ſtood betweene him and a Kingdome, yet would he not deſtroy him being vrged thereto by the earneſt perſwaſion of his follower, but withſtood both them and opportunity, induring the trouble of his Conſcience, for preſuming to cut off (not his Maſters head, but) the lap of his garment only.

Fiftly, Another time *Saul* purſuing after *Dauid* to deſtroy him was found by *Dauid* and *Abiſhai*, ſleeping with his ſpeare at his head, as if occaſion ſhould haue led *Dauid* to an opportunity moſt fit, and thus haue perſwaded him. See, here is thy enemy ſleeping, and here is a weapon to deſtroy him; which aduantage when *Abiſhai* would moſt gladly haue imbraced, he was diſſwaded by *Dauid*, with this anſwere; *Deſtroy him not, for who can lay his hand vpon the Lords Anointed, and be guiltleſſe*: whereby hee concludeth it to be impoſſible for any man whoſoeuer, to conſpire the death or dammage of his ſoueraigne, with the teſtimonie of good conſcience. And this opinion of King *Dauids*, is aduerſe to the practiſe of the Romane State,

1 Sam. 24. v. 5,6,7.

A rare example of a holy King.

Note. 1 Sam. 2. 6. 9

Dauid *and the Pope diſagree in their opinions.*

which hath often laid their hands of blood, and death vpon the Lords annointed; neither haue they euer done as *Dauid* did, denie the offer of fit occaſion to reuenge, wherein they are anſwerable to their *Italian* prouerbe. *If thy enemie be vp to his knees in water, reach him thy hand to helpe him: But if hee ſtand vp to the Chinne, ſet thy foot vpon him to deſtroy him.*

An Italian prouerbe Count Baltezer.

Sixthly, Now if King *Dauids* example and authority will not ſerue, becauſe he was but Man, I will then produce his witneſſe, who was both God and Man the Lord *Ieſus*; who commanded the *Iewes*, to giue obedience to *Cæſar* in all thoſe duties which reſpect Soueraignty; though *Cæſar* did not acknowledge the *Iewiſh* Religion, but rather did perſecute that profeſſion. Neither did he perſwade rebellion againſt the Romane ſtate, though in his diuine wiſedome he did foreſee that the Kingdome of the *Iewes*, (which he ſo much loued) ſhould be vtterly waſted by the power of the *Romanes*, whereby hee would teach vs, that as by God (onely) Kings do Reigne, ſo by him onely are they both ſupported,

The example of Chriſt.

God who onely maketh Kings, can onely depoſe them.

(and

(and as he ſhall onely pleaſe,) are they diſplanted and depoſed from their dignities.

Seuenthly, It is euident then, by the teſtimonie of them who are moſt holy and abſolute, (that no earthly man by the authority of his place) hath or can giue licenſe, to conſpire, againſt any Soueraigne power whatſoeuer, and the reaſon is, becauſe there is no power but from God, and the powers that be are ordained of God: and therefore to reſiſt that power, is to withſtand God and his ordinance, and to condemne the forme of Gods gouernement. And ſuch are all they, who goe about to tranſlate authority, where God hath not giuen it, and to throw downe and depoſe them whom God hath eſtabliſhed, and ſuch are all they who either plot or practiſe Rebellion, Conſpiracie, or Treaſon, or that can giue allowance thereto. Traitors they be to God, Traitors to their Prince, Traitors to their Countrie and to themſelues, Traitors whom God will withſtand as Traitors, and iudge as Enemies.

No earthly power can giue licenſce for Rebellion.

All traytors oppoſe againſt Gods prouidence.

Eighthly, And though the *Pope* challenge to be able, to giue that diſpenſation, which

The Pope his Diſpenſation.

Iehu had giuen him of God; yet is that onely preſumption in the *Pope*, for neither is he God to giue any ſuch warrant, neither is he Gods *Prophet*, whoſe authority we may truſt, neither doth God reueale his will immediately to the *Pope*, as he did to his *Prophet Eliſha*, neither haue his *Iehues* euer had that fortune and proſperous ſucceſſe, as had this; God confounding many thouſands of their damned and Rebellious practiſes, to the honour of his name and to the ſhame of all ſuch euill Miniſters, for this is an vnanſwerable argument, that the *Popes* power to diſpence in this kinde is not from God, becauſe many of their practiſes ſucceed not, which if they were from God they muſt of neceſſity proſper. And therefore neither Prince, Prieſt, or *Pope*, can giue diſpenſation in this kinde. God onely being able to make that lawfull, which without his ſpeciall direction is moſt damnable.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

A Comparison betweene Queene Mary *of* England, *and the Queene-Mother of France,* Katherine de Medices.

Queene Mary. *Queene* Katherine.

THESE two Ladies, of all whom the Historics of our times record, are neareſt ſutable to a paralell; hauing beene both of them honourable in place of dignity, both of them admirable in endowments of Nature, and both of them transported by ill counsell, too much effusion of Christian blood, by perse-

perſecution of the Proteſtant Religion in the ſeuerall precincts of their gouernement. I deſire not to diſparrage the memorie of noble perſonages. Hiſtorie will ſpeake vnpartially; and the Chriſtian hearts which reade or heare of their perſecutions, will compaſſionate the troubles which holy men haue endured: and though the ſenſe of ſorrowes bee paſt and not ſenſible to them who indured them; yet will the knowledge of them beget a kinde of ſenſe of thoſe ſorrowes which other men haue formerly ſuſtained; and (according to our affections) as wee loue or hate the cauſe it ſelfe, ſo ſhall wee giue our cenſure of the Authors of the perſecutions. I forbeare therefore to proſecute the compariſon in particulars; the more, becauſe I pittie the frailty of their Sexe, which hauing but weake iudgement, is the leſſe able to make reſiſtance againſt ſtronge temptations. I onely deplore their ill hap, to ſucke the milke of ſo venimous a breaſt as the Church of *Rome*; which is indeed the Circe of the world, transforming men

Commiſeration and Chriſtian pittie.

The woman a weake Sexe.

by

by her enchanted potions into beasts, and metamorphosing euen the innocent disposition of gentle Ladies, and Princesses into a *Leonine* and *Tigerlike* sauagenesse; that *Lupa Romana*, which as shee first fostered *Romulus* with the teats of a shee-Woolfe, so nurseth now all others with the like milke, and propoundeth the highest rewards of heauen to them that will most play the hell-hounds vpon earth; shee which puts Princes vpon persecution of the Church vnder colour of zeale for the Church, and stirres vp Subiects to rebellion by pretense of piety, and giues the lawrell of Martyrdome vnto Treason: to her we are to impute the miscarriages of these and many other worthyes, whose better nature was empoysoned by bad principles instilled into them: especially we may commiserate her of *France*, because her persecution there feasted Saint *Bartholmew* with more Christian soules at one Supper, then perished by Queene *Mary* the whole time of her life: pray we almighty God, that the bloud sucking tyranny of that Romish strumpet may haue

The venemous nature of the Romish doctrine.

Saint Bartholmewes *supper of Soules.*

haue an end; that ſhee may bee no longer drunken with the bloud of the Saints, nor the Princes of the earth no more intoxicated with her cups of abominations; and ſo paſſe we from this ſorrowfull and ſad theme to the ioyfull times of bleſſed Queene ELIZABETH.

CHAP.

OF THE NEXT DEFENDRES OF THE Faith, Queene ELIZABETH, and by what difficulties she attained the Kingdome.

CHAP. XXIII.

FIRST, I am now againe to change my Argument, the gouernement being thus happily changed, and to report a time of mercie, and not misery; of preseruation and not persecution, and how the *Catholike Faith* was defended not offended; of *Queene Elizabeth*, and not *Queene Marie* Sisters (indeed) by the bond of Nature, but most disagreeing in the gifts of *Grace*,

Grace, and holy ornaments. The one defacing, the other restoring, the one wounding, the other saluing, the one offending, the other defending the most *Catholike Faith*, *Queene Marie* in blood, *Queene Elizabeth* in peace, in peace with God, in peace with his Saints, in peace with all men, saue the enemie of God and Man, the Idolatrous and false worship of Antichrist, the which (with most zealous resolution) shee hath most victoriously opposed, to the eternall honour of her name on earth, and to her euerlasting happinesse in heauen; where now shee hath most honourable place among the fellowship of those holy ones, who haue best fought the Lords quarrell, and best defended the profession of Faith: and as it is said, the daie and night diuide the yeare like indifferent partners: so we may say, that these two Sisters, *Queene Elizabeth* and *Queene Marie*, haue diuided the Renowne of the world, *Queene Elizabeth* (like the day) hauing got the better part of fame, honourable and holy remembrance: and *Queene Marie* her Sister (like the night) the worse part

The differēt nature of two Sisters.

The day and night diuide the yeare.

part a name of blood, which being vttered, reduceth to memorie the ſtories of blood; and how the Saints of God were ſlaughtered, whereby ſhee her ſelfe is made more blacke than night, in giuing her name ſo blacke and ſo bad a remembrance.

Secondly, This difference of good and bad is (indeed) very common in the generations of mankinde, and not common to any other kinde of creature ſaue Man. For inuegitable things we ſee, that from one roote doe proceede many branches, yet all of them of one and the ſame Nature, and all bearing one and the ſame fruit: but in the generations of Man it is otherwiſe, for from on Father commonly proceedeth children of diſagreeing quallities, as from one *Adam* was deriued both righteous *Habel*: and a wicked *Caine*, and from one *Iſaac*, a *Iacob* and an *Eſau*, and ſo from one *Henrie* an *Elizabeth*, and a *Marie*, a day and a night, a mercie and a miſerie, a bleſſed protector and a moſt bloodie perſecutor of the Chriſtian Faith. And therefore was King *Henrie* much in Gods fauour, and to vs was hee fauourable,

The differẽce of good and bad.

The differẽce of Natures.

Of King Henries happineſſe.

uourable, in making the greater part of the Kings Children the better part, (which ſeldome to any one man liuing happeneth. God in his anger gaue our Nation but one *Marie*, but in his loue he gaue vs both an *Edward* and an *Elizabeth*, for ſo is God double as much in mercie as in iudgement; neither will he that hath care ouer all his creatures, ſuffer the cauſe hee ſo deerely loueth to want protection, but if he giue his Church a *Marie* to trie it in the fire of perſecution, he will alſo giue it an *Elizabeth*, to reſtore and refreſh it. Such was our noble *Defendreſſe*, whoſe care did medicine the bodie of Religion and State, which her Siſter had grieuouſly wounded. And for my owne particular, though there was neuer any Princeſſe in the world, whoſe name I would more gladly honour than *Queene Elizabeth*, yet dare I not take vpon me to report her worth (not for that I feare the face of any man in that honeſt performance) but becauſe I am farre vnable to giue ſo much of honourable remembrance as her moſt princely life hath well deſerued: and by fayling (in reporting

God is double as much in mercie as in Iudgement.

Queene Elizabeth *is helper to cure the wounds her Siſter had made in the State.*

leſſe

leſſe than truth) I ſhall wrong the reputation of her name, which moſt tenderly I loue, and whereto I will euer be a ſeruant. And therefore let ſuch as deſire to know her worth; reade the large ſtorie thereof, in the moſt honourable deeds of late times, there being almoſt no memorable Act in Chriſtendome, for the ſpace of fortie yeares of her time, wherein ſhe had not ſome part of princely deſeruing; Let him view the proſperous face of this Nation, and therein behold her merit, let him remember her fortunate & victorious in her moſt famous victories, wiſe in the gouernement of her ſtate, iuſt in the liberty of Lawes, mercifull in iudgement, and iuſt in determining; Let him remember *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, *Spaine*, *Portingale*, *Italy and Belgica*, and all the quarters of Chriſtendome, in euery part whereof is ſpread the remembrance of her merit, let him aske the *Turke*, the *Tartare* and thoſe Emperours of moſt diſtance, and they can report the honour and name of *Queene Elizabeth*; Let him inquire at the enuie of the greateſt *Potentates* in Chriſtendome, and that

Wherein we may behold the deſerts of Queene Elizabeth.

that will declare her worthie of moſt worthie praiſe: if there be any one a ſtranger in this *Iſraell*, and doth not or will not know her merit, let him conſult with theſe, or with any of theſe, and he may receiue ſatisfaction & better knowledge: or if this ſuffice not to make her enough honourable, let him remember how her holy hands put out the fires of trouble and grieuous perſecutions, looſing the holy Martyrs from the ſtakes of of death and (like Gods Angell) binding the mouth of death, and tribulation which had waſted a great part of Gods inheritance. And then how ſhee reſtored the Truth of Gods ſeruice, vtterly aboliſhing Idolatrie & groſſe ſuperſtition. And this is that which beſt merited honourable remembrance; inſomuch as if I had enuie and coueted to obſcure her princely deſeruing, this her moſt godly act, would (in deſpight of enuie and me) declare her moſt worthie, and condemne the enuious breach of all them that dare traduce her. And therefore I dare boldly ſay of *Queene Elizabeth*, that in reſpect both of greatneſſe and goodneſſe, ſhe was ſuch

The higheſt of her deſerts

In reſpect of greatneſſe & goodneſſe.

ſuch an Empreſſe as the world neuer had another to match her; and for her Sex ſhee was ſuch a woman as (worthily) may be ſaid to haue exceeded all other but that moſt ſacred Virgin with whom I neither will nor dare make compariſon.

Virgin Marie.

Thirdly, Now that wherein *Queene Elizabeth* was moſt abſolute, was principally in thoſe heauenly reſpects of mercie & Maieſtie, wherein I thinke ſhe was moſt excellent and without compariſon; the which, like two hands ſhe applied to euerie good worke of Church and Common-Wealth; for by her mercie ſhe approued her ſelf moſt Chriſtian, and by her Maieſtie a moſt Princely Soueraigne. In both which reſpects, was this Ladie ſo ſingular, as if *Grace* and *Nature* had giuen them for ornaments to make her moſt excellent, and as if God would (by her) demonſtrate to the world ſurpaſſing he can make that Creature vpon whom he ſhall caſt his heauenly ornaments. Neither doe I thinke it diſparagement to any Prince in the world, that I report *Queene Elizabeth* moſt excellent, both becauſe ſhee was

Queene Elizabeth *moſt excellent in the reſpects of mercie and Maieſty.*

Diſparagement.

was so in true estimation; and also for that it may suffice (for the honour of any prince) to come neere *Queene Elizabeth* in these honourable deseruings, she being matchlesse for mercie vnlesse in the comparison of K. *Iames* our Soueraigne, and her successor which with her Kingdomes hath inherited that most gratious indument. But for Maiestie she was neuer exceeded, neither can I giue that comparison without wrong to *Queene Elizabeth*, and flatterie to them whom I should compare her.

King Iames.

The Queene matchlesse for Maiestie.

Fourthly, And were I worthie to aduise in a matter so serious, there is no Prince in the world whom I loue; to whom I doe not wish this regard of Maiestie, for there is nothing more necessarie in the person of a Prince then *Maiestie*, which when it hath the moderation of mercie and aduised iudgement to order it, it is then of most excellent beauty, and of most speciall vse. Because where it is thus ordered, it begetteth in mens hearts an admiration and a Reuerence to the person of such Maiesty, for commonly that which men admire they loue, and

An importãt aduise to all Princes.

A Reason.

too

too much familiarity doth oftentimes beget presumption, and neglect of dutie, neither is there any thing that doth more incourrage disobedience in Subiects, than remissenesse and want of Maiestie in the souereigne. And this is pretily alluded in the fable of the frogges, to whom (demãding a King) *Iupiter* cast into a poole where they were assẽbled, a block which falling with much noise stroake a terror and a Reuerend feare in the *Frogges*; but when they perceiued it blockish, and to want *Maiestie*, leape and insult ouer it in derision and scorne, hating to giue their obedience to that which wanted the Maiestie to command them. And this *Morall* did *Queene Elizabeth* well vnderstand, who most Princelike did euer maintaine the Maiestie of her high place, yet euer with the wisedome of such moderation, as that her *Maiestie* was mercifull, and her mercie maiesticke, of these two principalls compounding a gouernement most honourable and vertuous.

Esop in morall Fables.

The queenes moderation.

Fifthly, Such was this noble *Queene*, and much more noble than I can report her, who

Her defence of Faith before she was Queene.

before she was *Queene*, did worthily defend the profession of the *Catholike Faith*, euen to the hazard of her princely life. God giuing her that relish of aduersity, the better to taste the pleasures of her most happie time which was to follow. And if the particulars of her troubles were indifferently considered, she would be found very constant, and faithfull to God-ward; and to haue indured much for the testimonie of Faith, and to haue had a glorious Conquest ouer all the enemies of her religious life. First, their practise who thought to dis-inherit her, and her Sister, by intruding into the seate of this Empire the Ladie *Iane*, whereby it was likely the inheritance should haue bene conueyed another way, and translated into another Succession, which could not haue bene without apparant danger of her life and her Sisters; because authority that is vsurped, cannot bee otherwise secured but by their death that can make lawfull claime: yet God who doth euer protect truth did otherwise dispose of this great businesse; but if we compare this with her trouble (in the time of her

An euill practise to disinherit the Queene.

Note.

Her trouble in her Sisters time.

Sisters

Sisters gouernement) the comparison will make this little, and that monstrous; she hauing indured so much for the tryall of her Faith, as may well approue her to bee most valiant in Christian patience, and to haue worthily defended the profession of the *Catholike Faith*, before shee was made Defendresse; the storie of which her most vertuous suffering, I haue heretofore written in verse; and therefore in this place I forbeare to make particular Narration of that which formerly I haue declared. And in this I receiue speciall contentment, that in my knowledge of this Souereigne Ladie Queene *Elizabeth*, I dare confidently report to haue found more (in the trauell of my time) than King *Salomon* withall his experience and wisedome could euer finde, *A good Woman.*

Queene Elizabeths *Teares.*

Salomon. *A good woman.*

Obseruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

Diuine. FIRST, It is common with God then to helpe, when the disease is highest, and the expectation of good is furthest off, for in this doth God shew his omnipotencie, and the difference betweene the actions of himselfe, and his creatures; for man to produce his effects doth couet the aduantage of naturall fitting causes, but it is sufficient cause in God that he is willing.

Secondly, There is this difference in the punishments of good and euill men, temporall, and eternall; the good mans temporall punishment must of necessity end; the euill mans spirituall punishment hath an euerlasting necessity of being. For God hath determined all men to taste of both cups, but with different measure.

Pollitique. Thirdly, It was a wisedome both Religious and *Pollitique* in the *Queene* to enter her *State* with generall peace; for though shee had

had the sword of authority in her hand, and found in the power of her command such as had bene very grieuous vnto her; yet did she like a wise Princesse take no further reuenge, then onely name them for her enemies, and so distinguish them from better friends. For it is most needfull for a Prince at the entring his *State*, to gaine the opinion of mercie, because there is nothing can better secure him, then the hearts and faithfull seruice of his people.

Morall.

Fourthly, There is this greatnesse euen in men of inferior fortune, that they either dispise the dignities they haue not, or can with a modest patience hope them. For seeing that all worldly things are moued with variable motions; what man can haue reason to dispaire the fortune of some prosperitie.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of the first Act of Queene Elizabeths *defence for the Catholike Faith after she was Queene.*

FIRST, Queene *Elizabeth* (in her gratious disposition) was like the sune, which no sooner is vp, but it riseth to the comfort of all Creatures: so the Queene no sooner in the seate of *Maiestie*, but she applyeth her cares to the vse of mercie and vertuous deeds, casting vpon the generall face of this Nation, her heauenly aspect and influence, which (in the blacke time of her Sisters gouernement) lay in the shadow of darkenesse and blacke obscurity. And as the neerest to her Religious heart she beginneth (being of impor-

important consideration) first with Gods cause *Religion*, laying that for her foundation, whereupon she determined to erect the whole frame of her holy life; For shee well vnderstood, there was nothing could support her in the true estimation of honour and vertuous liuing but *Religion* without the exercise whereof, all other things are vitious and of euill merit. And therefore did she pursue this end with a most stedfast resolution, daring to doe any thing (were it neuer so hazerdous) that might aduantage it, and remouing euery impediment, which any way might hinder the prosperity of that proceeding. And because she found the bodie of her State dangerously wounded by disorder, and euill gouernement, she therefore (very carefully, and skilfully) applieth present remedie, least otherwise the disease might proue incureable, and the cause of *Religion* might then bee like the common cause of *Patients*, who haue their patience tryed by deferments and lingring cures, which in the trade and practise of many bad Physitions is very frequent. And this disgrace hath

Her first care for Religion. A Ioue principium.

The queenes care to cure the diseased State.

The practise of bad physitions.

hath the *Queene* well auoided, in determining firſt the generall cauſe of the Common-Wealth, before any particular end that might reſpect her owne priuate.

Secondly, The euidence of this her holy and princely care is moſt apparant in the reſtoring of Religion, to that *Truth* and *Authoritie*, wherein in King *Edwards* time it was worthily eſtabliſhed, aboliſhing ſuperſtitious *Poperie*, which in the time of *Queene Marie* her Siſter, had vſurped the place and dignitie of true *Religion*. And this falſe worſhip hath *Queene Elizabeth* (like a moſt victorious Empreſſe) for euer vanquiſhed, bringing it downe to that pouertie of ſtrength, as the fauourers thereof haue little reaſon euer to hope a reſtauration of that, which ſhe and her Succeſſor, our Soueraigne King *Iames* haue for euer baniſhed from the bonds of great *Brittaine*.

Her reſtoring Religion to purity of Doctrine.

Poperie for euer baniſhed from this Iland.

Thirdly, And in this hath *Queene Elizabeth* very fortunately defended the *Catholike Faith*, and finiſhed that holy quarrell with as much honour, as euer did any Chriſtian Prince before her, being in this worthily able

King Edward *ouermatched by Queene* Elizabeth.

able to match if not, to ouermatch her most princely brother K. *Edward*, (who but for her) may be thought (for his holy care) singular and without comparison.

Fourthly, To reckon vp the particulars of *Queene Elizabeths* merit, were a needlesse trauell, both because I cannot so report them as they are worthy, and also because they are yet visible in the view of the gouernement of the Church and State of *England*, as now it standeth; our Church being still in the flourish of that prosperity, wherein shee left it established to the next *Defendor of the Faith*, and wherein K. *Iames* her successor our Souereigne doth yet continue it, and wherein (we hope) it will be euer continued in his hopefull posterity.

Her desert visible in the face of England.

Fifthly, This noble beginning of *Queene Elizabeth*, was so much to the aduancement of the *Catholike Faith*, that being (by report) made knowne to the world, was a cause that the Children of faith who (in *Queene Maries* time) did willingly banish themselues into places of farre distance; now hearing of this alteration resort againe to their Countrie, and

The returning of holy men from banishment to England.

and to the protection of this Noble Defendreſſe, who did free them from the miſerie of perſecution, and vnder whoſe defence they peaceably enioyed their liues and the libertie of Reformed Conſcience. And with this holy *exordium* did *Queene Elizabeth* begin the Storie of her vertuous life.

Obſeruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

Diuine. FIRST, It is a precept giuen vs by our beſt Maſter. *Firſt ſeeke the Kingdome of God.* This leſſon had the *Queene* learned from that Doctor, who therefore did applie her firſt cares to this principall end, for which God did ſucceed her in others; for it is vnqueſtionable true, that he that ſeeketh God, ſhall finde all his neceſſarie things though he ſeeke them not.

Pollitique. Secondly, The *Queene* by her direct manifeſting her reſolute purpoſe how in the caſe of Religion, ſhe was reſolued, was both in her ſelfe Religious, and had this *Pollitique* reſpect,

respect, that thereby shee tooke feare from her friends, and hope from her enemies, making hope and feare shift places, for that did satisfie the expectation of her friends, which in such case is doubtfull, and preuent the forward hopes of the contrary faction, which in all such alterations is ouer-daring.

Thirdly, There is this benefit in afflictions that their vse and acquaintance, make men valiant and able to vndergoe all fortunes, for it is possible to make pleasure of sorrowes, and to vse them for recreations. *Morall.*

Fourthly, It is a commendable pride, modestly to esteeme our selues in our aduersities, but hee that can moderate his pride in his prosperities, is thought the more rare example, and deserues imitation.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

Of certaine considerations, which in respect of Pollicie might haue diswaded the Queene from reforming the State of Religion.

FIRST, It may seeme strange to many that their should bee any consideration able to diswade from doing well or that any by-respect should be so respected, as to withdraw the purpose of one resolued to holy cares. And this in truth were strange, if common experience did not teach vs otherwise. For it is often times seene that such men who haue gained fauour in generall opinion, and are assuredly thought to be constant, and most resolute, in that wherein they are so reputed, doe notwithstanding

Experience.

fall

fall off from this their reputed Constancie, and yeeld themselues ouercome by the perswasion of dishoneſt and by considerations.

Secondly, And therfore is their iudgement much deceiued who belieue that any thing in this world is of that assurednes, & vnuariable cõstãcie, as that no time, nor any perswasion can altar. For the moſt excellent men, & the moſt excellent vertues of men, are not supported by their owne power, or by any earthly assistance, but by the hand of God only: insomuch that when this moſt absolute power, shall not supply to any particular, the strength of such a one is but weakenes, & his constancie but faintnes; because (without this heauenly prop) he cannot support the body of his vertues; and so of necessity both he and they must incline to bad alteration: if then the question were demanded, what should be the condition of all men? I would answer, to bee constant in their holy purposes: but if it be demanded what is the Nature of all men? I answer, that all of all manner of conditions, are inclineable to euil onely; and that such who ascend the degrees of

Nothing that is earthly is free from inconstancie.

God the onely supporter of mens resolution.

The nature of all men.

of best reputation, doe it not by their owne power, neither haue they power to continue that state, but naturally cast themselues from those deseruings whereunto God hath raised them. Be it therefore the euerlasting honour of their names, who haue valiantly resisted the power of those earthen temptations, and haue had their regardfull eyes to holy and Religious ends onely. And such was *Queene Elizabeth*, who (in respect of her dangerous fortunes, was assuredly much tempted to these earthly regards, the which she nothing regarded in comparison of her heauenly cares, whereto she was wholly and assuredly deuoted.

Queene Elizabeth *most constant.*

Thirdly, And therefore I report not what could, but what would haue diswaded the *Queene* (in respect of *Policie*) from reforming Religion; and I will plainly expresse my selfe in this particular, because I would most gladly auoid the euil of misconceiuing which commonly ariseth from doubtful vnderstanding.

To auoid the misc̃oceiuing

Fourthly, And for the *Queene*, though she neuer fainted in the care shee had vndertaken

The Queene neuer fainted in her resolution.

ken for Religion, but euer continued her course in one resolute passage, and euer trauelled therein with much prosperity and honour; yet there wanted not many regards of *Policie*, and state considerations, which might haue allured her, from her holy constancie, and haue made her more remisse and colde in the pursuit of her holy businesse; such as heretofore haue altered the strongest purposes of other Christian Princes, and such as would haue altered the Queene her selfe, had not God (by the power of his Grace) giuen her extraordinarie supportations. For (as I haue said) Religion and Pollicie respect not alwaies one end, neither doe they worke by one and the same meanes. And though in Christian Common-Wealths it is most needfull that Religion order state, and that Christian Princes suffer themselues to be directed by the Law of God, and by the dutie of Conscience; yet in the practise of many states it is otherwise, where the truth of Religion is peruerted, and the sense of Scripture wrested, to maintaine the vnlawfull vse of such state

Yet much tempted by state considerations.

Religion & Pollicie respect diuers ends.

Religion ought to order state.

Religion is perverted and Scripture wrested to maintaine vnlawfulnes.

state practises, as (in the truth of holy iudgement) are most damnable.

In Popish states.

Fifthly, This truth is euident in the gouernement of such Christan States, where by license, dispensation and pardons, men may adulterate, lye and Murther, and by the fauour of their lawes, commit such outrage as (in the iudgement of Gods Law) is death: and these are regards of State, which (for aduantage and profit) tollerate and protect those things, which (in the strictnesse of *Conscience*) are altogether vnlawfull.

Regards of State.

It is euident then both by generall obseruation and by speciall instance that Christian Princes haue many earthly prouocations to withdraw them from the zealous pursuite of holy & Religious purposes, and that God onely is able to support the best, and most worthie, from dishonourable recusancie; and from retyring from those diuine seruices, whereunto they haue with great hope and much acclamation entred.

Sixthly, And in this noble deseruing hath *Queene Elizabeth* exceeded many of her princely predecessors; and therefore I report this

this as one the chiefe of all her honourable deeds, whereby she hath well declared her selfe beloued of God, constant in her holy purpose, and best able to defend the holy quarrell of the *Catholike Faith.* For by this victorie she had of her selfe, she hath done that which all the world could not doe; God hauing made her inuincible, and not to be conquered but by her selfe.

One of the chiefe of Q. Elizabeths honourable deeds.

The victorie she had of her selfe.

Seuenthly, To relate the seuerall considerations of state were much trauell & impertinent to this busines; because the number of them is great, & for the much diuersity, they altering according to the variable gouernement of state, and as the alterations of time would make them vseful. I wil therfore (only) report some few which at this time, and in this state were very considerable. And first the alteration the State indured by the Q. altering *Religion:* for she could not but vnderstand, that her new forming the order of Religion in her Kingdomes, (was in the wisedome of State) very hazerdous; because thereby she must needs discontent the greater number of her subiects, whereby she

The first consideration of State.

The danger of altering Religion. A Reason.

ſhee became ſubiect to the diſpleaſure of her owne people, and leſſe able to ſuppreſſe the diſobedience of ſuch as ſhould dare to attempt againſt her. For at this time the *Proteſtant Religion* (to which the Queene was zealouſly deuoted) had not equall greatnes in this Kingdome, with that of the Romiſh, the *Papiſt* exceeding the *Proteſtant* in Number and power. And therefore the Queene (in her election) made choiſe of the weaker and leſſe able part, to ſupport her againſt her better prouided enemies. And this ſhee would not haue done, if ſhee had yeelded to this perſwaſion of State, or had regarded the dignity of her temporall life, more than the honour and dignity of her Chriſtian Name. But ſhe that could not be ouercome with euill, ouercame this euill temptation, and reſiſted the power thereof by her vertue and godly conſtancie.

The Queene made choiſe of the weaker to aſſiſt her againſt the ſtronger.

Her holy truſt.

Eighthly, Againe, the Q. in thus altering the State of Religion, did attempt a matter very difficult, and of no eaſie performance, and this ſhe might vnderſtand by her iudgemēt in *Philoſophie*, & by obſeruing the courſe of

The ſecond State conſideration was the difficulty in finiſhing

of all naturall things. For we see that those things which moue themselues, in their naturall motiõ, are carried with lesse vehemẽce then those that are moued by violent & forced meanes. And the body of this kingdome (at that time of the Q. entering the state) mouing in the fauour of romish religion, wherin it had formerly moued for many yeares, could not without much violence and great difficultie be moued against that customary motion, nor be forced to retire backe in the same steps, wherein it had formerly proceeded: and therfore this difficulty in finishing was a consideration of state, which (in respect of state) might haue diswaded the Q. holy care from the reforming of religion, & which would haue preuailed with any prince in the world, who had regarded the felicity of their temporal life, more than the honour of God or the prosperity of the *Catholike Church.*

An argumẽt from the order of nature

The importance of this consideration

Ninthly, the discontentment of her neighbour nations, & the displeasure of the greatest part of Christian princes, was a speciall consideration, and such as that nothing but grace could be able to withstand, for it is necessary

Third consideration. The displeasure of forreigne princes.

The deſires of great perſons.

ceſſarie & natural in the Natures of Princes, & in the ſpirits of great perſons, to deſire generall reputation, and that their names may liue in the fauour of good eſtimation, hating to be held hatefull, or not to haue place, in the loue of their neighbour nations. For this forreigne regard as it exceedingly cõtenteth the noble ſpirits of ſuch as deſire it; ſo alſo it is moſt behoofull for the ſecurity of their perſons & ſtates; kingdomes and great ſtates being in this reſpect like particular men, not able to liue in proſperity, and flouriſhing wealth, without cõmunicating to each other their ſeueral profits: neither is there any part in the world, where the regard of cõfederacy & forraigne cõbination is ſo behoofull as in the ſtates of chriſtendome, becauſe of the equall partage of chriſtendome to many ſeuerall princes, whereby they liue in iealouſie of one another; & cõmonly confederate with ſuch forreigne power, as (in the diſcretion of ſtate) is thought to be of moſt conueniency, both to aduance the glory of their nation, & to aduantage them againſt their moſt feared enemies, wheras it is otherwiſe in the ſpatious

The vſe of forreigne regard.

In reſpect of England.

A Reaſon.

gouerne-

uernement of mighty Empires; ſuch as at this day the *Turke*, the *Perſian* and the *Ruſsian Emperours* be, and ſuch as heretofore the *Romane Emperours* were, who (by reaſon of their huge bodies of State,) moue almoſt without reſiſtance, neither care theſe mighty Emperours (ſo much) to confederate with their Neighbours, becauſe they know that (of neceſſity) thoſe leſſer ſtates muſt like Riuers diſcharge their ſeruice into their Ocean. But this Kingdome of *England* being in the middeſt of many diſagreeing Nations. This conſideration of ſtate did therfore neerely concerne the *Queene* to conſider of, and theſe importances would doubtleſſe haue diſwaded her holy cares, had her cares bene any other than holy.

The Spanyard hath now larger Dominions than the Duke of Muſcouy.

Englād in the midſt of many diſagreeing Nations.

Tenthly, But this Noble Defendreſſe of the Faith, howſoeuer ſhee vnderſtood as much in the wiſdome of State, as anie other Prince than liuing. Yet would ſhe not be ruled by that wiſdome, but (like her ſelfe, a moſt Chriſtian Princeſſe) ſhee contradicts *Pollicie with Pietie*. And ſhe whoſe Religious Iudgement might and could teach her, that

The queenes conſtancie.

God was able to ſupport her Princely State againſt all oppoſition, and to ſupply to al her neceſſities would (not for any State conſideration) diſtruſt the mighty power of his prouidence, or forſake the ſafetie of his protection for any cauſe whatſoeuer. For ſhee knew well that God was altogether as able to preuaile with the leſſe as with the greater number, and that he was not like man, to worke onely by the aduantage of meanes, for without meanes can he effect whatſoeuer ſhall pleaſe him, were the whole power of earth and hel to withſtand him. And therfore as *Sampſon* ſtrong in God, could with his weake weapon deſtroy a Thouſand of his enemies; ſo this moſt reſolute Defendreſſe of the Faith, refuſing the power of earth, hath with the truth of Religion onely, vanquiſhed not a thouſand onely, but many thouſands of Gods enemies whereby ſhe hath moſt nobly garded the ſafe paſſage of the *Catholike Faith*.

God is able to worke without as well as with meanes.

Sampſon.

Eleuenthly, And this I report in honour of this moſt excellent *Queene*, whom no reſpect of danger or State conſideration, could remoue

The honour of Queene Elizabeth.

remoue from her holy conſtancie; & whom all the power of the earth was not able to bereaue of her noble ſpirit, whereby ſhee was moſt excellent fit for the defence of Faith, and wherewith ſhe hath defended it, with as much honourable merit, as euer any Chriſtian Prince in the world did.

Obſeruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, God doth then trie the faith and loue of his ſeruants, when they are preſented with ſtrong and able temptations; for theſe tryalls though they cannot confirme in God any opinion of *Truth*, in whom there is all knowledge, yet they ſerue for the imitation of other, and for their iudgement that will not imitate. *Diuine.*

Secondly, He that ſhall fall from the ſeruice of God, for any reſpect whatſoeuer; doth iudge himſelfe an *Apoſtate*, and vnworthy of Gods fauour, becauſe euen thoſe that loue God, if they loue him for reſpect, they loue

loue the respect and not God.

Pollitique. Thirdly, In state reason it may seeme hazardous for the *Queene* to alter the State of Religion, because it might haue occasioned such discords in the State, as might much distresse her peaceable beginnings, being yet vnsetled; yet considering in what termes the *State* then stood, the Faction being almost indifferent in number and strength, she might very well thinke that the authority of her opinion would carrie many thousands with it; because the grosse multitude doth euer moue in the current of the common opinion.

Fourthly, In the proceedings of State affaires the prosecutions must be ordered by a discreet and setled iudgement, and not with desperate vndertakings, which some call Man-hood and heroicall spirit. For if there be difference betweene a priuate man and an ordinarie officer in the *State;* there must also be difference betweene the particular cause and the generall *State.*

Fifthly, It is the strength of a *Pollitique* State, to haue assured confederacie, & combination

bination with neighbour Nations, but the wisedome of that state is in nothing more iustified, than in the profitable vse of such confederacie; for therein doth appeare the excellence of wit, when with the onely charge of wit, we can imploy another mans power to our owne purposes.

Sixthly, To resist and vanquish the common knowne enemies of a vertuous life is a victorie, which morall men haue obtained, and doth assuredly iustifie (for good) the happie composition of such a Nature. *Morall.*

Seuenthly, To maintaine correspondence and indifferent fauour in mutuall societie, is most necessarie to a mans happie condition; because he that hath the fauour of generall opinion, hath interest in euerie mans estate.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the care the Queene and State had to depreſſe the enemies of the Catholike Faith.

Mercie.

FIRST, the beſt witneſſe of a Chriſtian life is *Mercie*, and the beſt demonſtration of mercie, is that fauour that men ſhew to their enemies; for ſuch kindneſſe is againſt the perſwaſion of fleſh, and onely cauſed by the mouing of *Grace*. And therefore mercie (euen in an euill man) doth merit admiration at the leaſt, and to be reputed as a beautious ornament in a baſe ſubiect. But mercy in the good is a moſt worthie commendation, and a worthineſſe for which God will exchange his beſt benefits. For there

The reward of Mercie.

there is nothing wherein God is more delighted then the workes of *Mercie* in the heauenly exercise, whereof hee himselfe is wonderfully contented, gladding his most sacred diuinity, that in *Mercie* hee doth triumph, and that his mercie hath the greatest part in all his workings.

Secondly, And as this respect of mercie hath preheminence in the Nature of God, so hath it also in the reformed natures of good men, who desire (principally) to square themselues to this most holy proportion. And in this gratious respect of mercie hath *Queene Elizabeth* equalled the best Princes that euer were so rarely was this Queene composed of *Mercie* and *Maiestie*, as that in *Maiestie* she may iustly be reputed most excellent, & yet in *Mercie* more excellent than in *Maiestie*; the which she would often declare (euen) to the enemies of her life and soule: For often would she reach her hands of fauour to them whose hands were euer readie to her destruction This truth is most euident in the view of her gratious gouernement, who abhorred their death, who

Mercie hath preheminẽce in the nature of God.

Queene Elizabeth *very mercifull.*

An admirable degree of Mercie.

who most traiterously sought hers, and suffered such peacefully to enioy their euill consciences, who practised to destroy her for her zeale, and constancie in the *Catholike Faith*.

The mercy of Popish lawes and Papists.

Thirdly, For if the *Papists* in the time of *Queene Marie*, or if now in such places where that Religion is profest, were or had bene so mercifull in the iudgement of their Lawes, as *Queene Elizabeth* was the time of her gouernement; then had not those times bene stayned with the crying sinnes of *Blood* and *Persecution*, neither had the bodies of Saints perished in that abundance at the holy fires of *Martyrdome*. May it therefore be for euer recorded for the honour of *Queene Elizabeths* name; that her mercie was more to the bad, then theirs to the better sort of people; and that in this most gratious indument, she is most worthie to bee compared with the most mercifull Prince that euer was.

How much the Queene hath exceeded her Sister in mercie.

Fourthly, The first yeares of her gouernment may sufficiently proue this her mercifull disposition, in which time the fauour of her hardest Lawes, were such as that her greatest

greateſt enemies (the enemies of her life and Religion) could not but acknowledge them very mercifull, ſeeking onely to reforme, & not to deſtroy the eſtate or life of any one.

The purpoſe of the queens Lawes.

Fifthly, Vpon this aduantage the euill ſpirits of men, practiſe againſt her life and dignitie. For it is not poſſible that the inueterate enuie of men, can be ſatisfied, by any manner of faire perſwaſion, or ſuppreſſed by any violent meanes, vnleſſe ſeuerity reach to the verie life of one ſo enuious: for mercie to an euill man maketh him preſumptuous, and ſeuerity maketh him deſperate; So that this diſeaſe of enuie is not curable vnleſſe God pleaſe to doe it. For in this peacefull time of the Q. when mercy was ſo generally conferd, did the *Pope* the enemie of Faith & the great *Polititian* of the world, deuiſe dangerous proiects againſt the Q. and the ſtate of Religion in *England*, the which he proſecuted with much inſtance, and withall the forcible meanes he could deuiſe The courſe he tooke was anſwerable to the practiſe of former *Popes*, anathemating & banning the Queene from the hope of ſaluatiō, interdicting

No meanes to reclaime the inueterate ennie of men.

Proiects deniſed by the Pope.

Interdictions

interdicting her Kingdomes, and abſoluing her ſubiects from the dutie of their naturall obedience, commanding vpon paine of damnation to doe that, which in the Iudgement of Gods Law is damnation to doe.

Pope Pius *Quintus.*

This inſtrument *Pius Quintus* the *Pope*, ſent ouer into *England*, and according to his vngodly command was it diuulged and ſpread before the generall face of this Kingdome; whereby many of the *Queenes* people in the North, and in places of leaſt knowledge and ciuility, reconcile themſelues to the *Popes* fauour, and like *Calues* ran wilde after the lowing of this curſt and curſing *Bull*, ſent forth by the impious *Pope Pius*.

The euill effect of the Popes Bull.

Sixthly, The *Queene* and *State* apprehending the danger of theſe proceedings, and knowing how hazzardous it might be to her life and ſtate, to ſuffer this violence to paſſe without reſiſtance; Call a Parliament, and there agree vpon ſuch Statutes, as in their wiſedomes were thought moſt conuenient, to preuent the miſchiefe intended againſt the Queenes life, her State, and the *Catholike Faith*.

A Parliament.

Seuenthly,

Seuenthly, The cauſe then mouing the *Queene* and *State* to enact thoſe lawes (which they call ſeuerity) was themſelues, by reaſon of their turbulent and euill ſpirits deſiring innouation; yea, and inuaſion (who) if they could haue bene content with the benefit of peace, which they thē enioyed, & wherewith the holy men of all ages haue bene moſt gladly contented, they had then preuented thoſe lawes, which they ſo much condemne; neither had they runne their names, nor their cauſe of *Religion*, into that ſuſpition of the State, as by theſe their treaſonable deſignes they haue moſt iuſtly merited. But it is antient and true, that from euill manners are deriued good and wholſome lawes, and they by deſire to harme the ſtate, they did arme it with wholſome and prouident lawes, whereby it was made the better able to preuent and reſiſt their harmefull intentions. And from their euill is this Good occaſioned, that by attempting euill, and by fayling in that attempt, they haue curbed their owne power and ſhortned their owne hornes, wherewith they and their *Bulls* had thought

The cauſe of the ſtatutes againſt Recuſants.

Ex malis moribus naſcuntur bonæ leges.

thought to haue puſht the glory of this Nation. And therefore was their Iudgement an effect of their owne cauſe, and moſt iuſtly inflicted on them. For God doth retort the euill purpoſes of men againſt the contriuers of them, and they that make ſnares and traps to catch men, are oftentimes ſnared in their owne deuiſes.

The mercy of the queens Lawes.

Eighthly, But yet thoſe lawes which they call ſeuerity, were milde and mercifull, and not proportionable to the greatneſſe of their offence, neither like in crueltie to the bloodie lawes in the time of *Queene Maries* gouernement, againſt the conſtant profeſſors of the *Proteſtat Religion*; the purpoſe of theſe Statutes being to ſecure the *Queene*, and to continue her ſubiects in their dutifull obedience, not reaching to the life of any of the Queenes Subiects, for their opinion of Religion onely; inſomuch as the moſt reſolute *Papiſt*, were he aſſured in the dutie of his allegiance, and not guiltie of any treaſonable practiſe, was not vrged by torture or extremities to abiure his opinion and Faith of Religion, but might continue himſelfe in

The purpoſe of the Statutes.

A large demonſtration of the queens mercie.

ſafetie

safety vnder the assured protection of the Q. & her mercifull lawes, it being the purpose of the Q. and state to reclaime the disobedience of her subiects (in respect of Religion) by faire, and not by forcible meanes, and to effect that by the gratious meanes of mercy, which the *Pope* & others lesse merciful, haue attempted by the violent meanes of *Blood, fire and Persecution.*

The slanders of euill and malitious men.

Ninthly, It is therefore mallice & a verie slander to the Q. princely name, that Gods enemies & hers doe report her a persecutor of Gods Saints, & that her lawes were bloody & tyrannous, & that many of that Religiō whom they call Saints, haue in this kingdome suffered Martyrdome for the witnes of their conscience onely, their being no one particular person (I think) in all the Q time that can truly be said thus to suffer death, but either as actors or abettors of Treason, the lawes hauing no authority to iudge them otherwise; For though by the law they were rebellious, and disobedient Subiects that would not cōforme themselues, to the reformed Religion then established: & though

None haue haue suffered in England for their conscience onely.

by the Law they indured ſome eaſie puniſh-
ment, to make a difference betweene the du-
tifull & vndutifull Subiects, yet there was no
The mercy of the Law. Law ſo ſtrict as to giue the ſentence of death
to any offending onely in Recuſancie, nei-
The Popes Bull the occaſion of more ſtrict Lawes. ther was there any law (before this occaſion
of the *Popes Bull*) to make any the profeſ-
ſors of that Religion, traytors vnleſſe they
were actors or abettors of conſpiracie or
treaſon in which caſes the *Proteſtants*
themſelues were iudged with like ſeue-
rity.

Tenthly, And vnles the prouidence of the
ſtate would haue ſlept and bene regardleſſe
of the Q. the ſtate, and ſtate of *Religion*, there
could not haue bene leſſe done thē was done
The purpoſe of the ſtate for the ſecurity of al, the purpoſe of the ſtate
being onely to preuent, and not to reuenge
the iniuries of the *Pope* and his adhe-
rents.

Eleuenthly, It is wonder then, the *Papiſt*
The difference in the practiſe of theſe ſtates. ſhould condemne that in our ſtate for ſeue-
rity, which in their own ſtates is a mercie ne-
uer practiſed; for with them the leaſt ſuſpi-
tion to fauour or affect the *Proteſtant* Religi-
on

on is perſecuted, with much ſeuerity, & let a man (in other reſpects) be neuer ſo deſeruing, or his place & birth neuer ſo eminent, if once he be conuict to be a *Proteſtant*, it is aſſured death: it is ſtrange then they iudge vs perſecutors, when our iuſtice hath leſſe ſeueritie then their mercy, we but eaſily correcting that offence, which they puniſh with death, and they ſeuerely puniſhing that which we moſt eaſily pardon.

Our iuſtice more merciſull then their mercie.

Twelfthly, For how many with vs dare, and doe fauour thoſe dangerous inſtruments of ſtate, and how commonly dare men diſcouer their ſuperſtitious affections in common conference, and often with earneſt reaſonings, defending and damning according to their appetites, whereas with them euery little circumſtance is quarrelſome, and preſumptions many times are moſt ſeuerely puniſhed.

The pollitique regard of this ſeuerity in the Romiſh State

13. And this ſeuerity in them, is aſſuredly verie conſiderable for their *Pollitique* State of Religion, being one maine prop whereupon they repoſe their greatneſſe, for it is verie neceſſarie for them to vſe all

all their forceable violence, to ſuppreſſe that truth, which in deſpight of violence (like the palme) will ſprout and proſper vnder their grieuous oppreſſions. And conſidering how the *Proteſtant* Religion (notwithſtanding their oppreſſing it) hath ſpread it ſelfe into verie ſpatious limits, they may well vnderſtand, how much more it ſhould haue flouriſhed if by their violent hinderances, it had not bene letted in his proſperous growth. But this bloody pollicie of theirs was not anſwerable to piety and holy reaſon, for ſo could the wiſe *Gamaliell* teach them, who withſtood the bloody counſell of the *Iewes*, who would haue perſecuted the holy Apoſtles withall ſeueritie, with this perſwaſion, that if their cauſe were not good, that then GOD would be enemie vnto it, and ſo of it ſelfe it would fall, and if it were good, it would bee in vaine to reſiſt it; becauſe GOD would ſupport it againſt all reſiſtance.

Religion flouriſheth vnder preſſion.

This Pollicie not anſwerable to piety nor holy example. Act. 5. 34.

14. The

14. The mercie of our Englisſh Lawes then (in matters concerning Religion onely) is an aſſured demonſtration, that our Prince our State, and our Religion is mercifull, and theſe demonſtrations of mercie, are no weake proofes that our Religion is moſt *Catholike* and *Chriſtian*, moſt Catholike becauſe of conformity to the Primitiue Church, and moſt Chriſtian, becauſe the exerciſe of mercie is the beſt imitation of Chriſt himſelfe, the Lord and true patterne of the Catholike and true Chriſtian beleeuer. And therefore the *Queene* and the Parliament were both mercifull and prouident in concluding theſe ſtatutes the which by no other cauſe but by the *Papiſts* themſelues were occaſioned.

The mercy of Englisſh Lawes concerning Religion.

Chriſt the true example of Chriſtians.

15. The purpoſe of the Statutes was this principally, firſt to prohibit the bringing ouer of *Bulls* or interdictions from the *Pope*. Secondly, to reſtraine the Runnawaies, and Trauellers beyond the Seas without licenſe, and to prohibit *Ieſuits* and reconſiled *Papiſts* from returning into the *Queenes* Dominions, vnleſſe vpon their returne,

The principall purpoſe of the ſtatutes.

they would submit to such as by the State were authorized to that purpose. Now how needfull it was for the Church and State of *England*, to haue this prouidence for their security and peace, I purpose in the next Chapter verie briefly to discouer.

The necessity of these Statutes.

Obseruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

Diuine.

FIRST, Such are (onely and alwaies to be opposed as enemies to a *Christian State*, as are so iudged by the sentence of Gods Word. For seeing *Christ* (who is the Word of his Father) is our Generall in all spirituall conflicts, we must onely and alwaies fight his battailes by his direction.

Pollitique.

Secondly, To restraine disorder and disobedience in subiects, the *State* doth vsually resort to the wisedome of a *Parliament*; for though the King by his Proclemations may command or restraine his *Subiects*, he being that one particular in whose person the whole authority of the *State* consisteth: yet doe

doe *Parliament Statutes* the rather satisfie because they proceed both from the Kings authority, and from the generall wisedome of the Kingdome.

Thirdly, There is no man can liue in that indifferencie of fauour withall, but that hee shall haue cause to make distinction of friend and enemie, or if he be free from all enmity; yet he shall finde difference in his friends, and therefore he must distinguish them. *Morall.*

CHAP. XXVII.

Of what importance the Statutes in the 13. of the Queene, were in respect of the Church and State.

In respect of the Church.

FIRST, In respect of the Church were they most important for the which they were principally enacted: they did also much import the State, because the prosperity of the Common-Wealth doth by a necessarie consequence depend vpon the prosperity of the *Church*, for in all true Christian Kingdomes the Church and the Common-Wealth, are Children of one and the same *Parent*, and though the *Church* be the older and of better inheritance; yet a Christian Common-Wealth is a Childe of the same Father, and hath a younger brothers portiō, in the partage of Gods blessings, the one inheriting

The prosperity of the state dependeth on the prosperity of the Church.

The Church and State Children of one Father.

heriting felicity & eternity, the other felicity but not eternall. And therefore whatsoeuer doth concerne the Church principally doth concerne the Common-Vvealth likewise, in a subordinate degree, and those things which aduance a Christian State; cannot derogate from the honour of the Church. And this is true and onely true, in holy and Religious Common-Vvealths, but not in such States, where the Church is disinherited of *Prioritie* and birth-right; and where the chiefe respect is had to *Pollicie* only and not to *Piety*.

Respect had to Pollicie and not to piety onely.

Secondly, The importance of these statutes (in respect of the Church) may be considered in this, that the *Popes* quarrell with the Q. and the *State*, was for Religion onely, because the *Church* of *England* had cast off that obedience, which formerly it had vnworthily giuen to the *Popes*, wherby the *Popes* greatnesse and reputation in *England*, was not only weakened, but also his other priuate ends of aduantages and reuennewes were taken from him. And therefore considering the quarrell was for the Religion profest

The Popes quarrell.

profeſt in *England*, the defence of the quarrell on the *Churches* behalfe muſt needs very much concerne it.

The particular branches of theſe Statutes.

Thirdly, Againe, many of the particular branches of thoſe ſtatutes, had principall reſpect to the benefit of the *Church*, and to remoue all ſuch euill meanes, as might any way corrupt and abuſe, the conſciences of men in the caſe of Religion; the *Church* hauing found much inconuenience, by the continuall intercourſe of *Engliſh*, *Romiſh* paſſengers, paſſing from *England* to *Rome*, and from *Rome* to *England*; whereby the Engliſh *Church* lay open to all the *Popes* perſwaſions; and whereby the ignorant and baſer ſort of people were withdrawne from their Chriſtian beliefe, & from the dutie of their naturall allegiance. And therefore to preuent this inconuenience was a care moſt conſiderable for the *Church*, and which (directly) tended to the aduancement of true Religion.

Inconuenience by Engliſh Romiſh trauellers.

Fourthly, There be alſo many other reſpects, which in theſe Statutes, directly intend the benefit of the *Church*, all which may

appeare

appeare most euident to any iudgement that shall with impartiall eyes peruse them.

Fifthly, And in truth there is nothing in a true Christian Common-Wealth, that can onely direct it selfe to the benefit of *State* only; but that *Religion* must withall be respected, the care of *State* being but the bye, and *Religion* the maine of euery Christian intendment. And therefore oftentimes euen in those things which seeme most properly to concerne the *State*, is *Religion* in them most regarded; the care of *State* in respect of Religion, being like the care of our bodies, for which holy men care, but so onely, as for the houses of their soules, and because of communicating those necessarie seruices, which necessarily depend of each other. These Statutes then were of most importance for the Church: that being the most respected end, whereto they were principallie directed.

Nothing can respect the state lawfully that respecteth not Religion also.

A comparisō

Of most importance for the Church.

Sixthly, In respect of the Common-Wealth also were these statutes verie considerable and of speciall importance, and namely in these particulars that the enemies of

In respect of the common-Wealth.

The wisedome of state

of the State, hauing made dangerous attempts, to innouate, and alter the *State*; it behooued them, to whose wisedomes the care of *State* was committed, to vse the best preuentions they could to hinder the like occasions; and therfore were these statutes deuised both to cut off the euill members already corrupted in the Common-wealth, and also to preuent all such future occasions.

The dangerous inconuenience of Iesuites and Romish Priests.

Seuenthly, Againe, there is no *Protestant State*, in the world which hath not found the dangerous inconuenience, of *Iesuites* and *Popish Priests* nursed in Seminaries beyond the Seas: these men (like so many euill spirits) conueighing their treasonable temptations to sillie men, least able to resist; whereby many great and dangerous Rebellions, haue bene occasioned, and whereby many damned and most dangerous attempts haue bene made against the liues of Christian Princes.

The Iesuites banished France.

Eighthly, And for this consideration were the Iesuites banished *France* for that memorable villanie of theirs attempted

on

on the perſon of the *French King*; memorable it may be for the horror of the deed, and for circumſtance of perſons a *Franciſcan Frier* acting, and a Chriſtian Prince ſuffering it, and memorable for that a *Pope* in publike Orations, did allowe the deede, and commēd the doer, canonizing him for holy & happie, whoſe fact (without repentance) was moſt wicked and damnable; daring to do more then holy K *Dauid*, to lay his murtherous hands vpon the Lords Anointed.

Franciſcan Fryer.

King David.

Ninthly, And as this is a reſpect conſiderable in all *States*, ſo in no place more, then in the Engliſh Nation, this Kingdome hauing had many like attempts, and hauing many ſuch attemptors, who haue dared to enterpriſe ſuch treaſons, as all the world, nor all the time in the world is not able to produce the like. And therefore to prohibite theſe Runnagate Traytors, to returne more dangerous Traytors then they went; and to infect the whole with the Leproſie of their vngodly poſitions, and doctrines, was a care which much regarded the peace & the proſperous eſtate of this Kingdome.

A reſpect moſt needfull for the Engliſh Nation.

A prouident care.

Tenthly,

The policie of the Romish Church preuented.

Tenthly, By these statutes the *Policie* of the Romith Church was preuented. For it hath euer beene and yet is the *Politike* wisedome of that state, to send out these their Intelligencers, their Priests and Iesuites into all nations; who (by confessions, & other secret workings) vnderstād almost the secrets of all *States*, & then like Bees to their Hiue, or Spirits to their hell) send or bring all the vse of their trauells to the Seate of Rome; whereby the *Popes* haue euer had vnderstanding in the most secret affaires of State, almost in all Nations. And this is so behouefull for his greatnesse, as with this he may be said to moue the bodie of his greatnes, neither without this could he support himselfe in such estimation as he is. For when the practise of any Prince is working against him, he hath timely vnderstanding of it, by these his carefull Intelligencers, and by that meanes he is the better able to worke his owne safetie, and to preuent the intendments of his aduersaries.

Iesuites Intelligencers.

A great means of the Popes greatnesse.

The vse of Seminarie Priests and Iesuites.

Eleuenthly, And therefore was this of speciall consideration for the state, to exclude

clude them the Land, who are the betrayers of our State Secrets, to our greateſt enemies. There are theſe and many other reſpects, which make it moſt behouefull, for the peace and proſperous eſtate both of the Church and ſtate of England, to baniſh the land of theſe vngodly practiſers, & to bring them their aydors, abettors, and receiuers, within the compaſſe of treaſon; becauſe their practiſe is treaſon, and they themſelues moſt dangerous Traytors; dangerous to men, dangerous to the ſoules of men, dangerous to mens eſtates, and dangerous to the *States* of Kingdomes and great *States*: in the *politike* practiſe wherof they are much more learned, then in the iudgement of Diuinitie and Chriſtian Religion.

Treaſon.

Wherein Ieſuits are beſt learned.

Obſeruations

Obseruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

Diuine. FIRST, Religion doth not deny her speciall Ministers the *Clergy* the knowledge of the very secrets of *Policie*, or rather the Church (in these times) hath a necessity that doth require such knowledge: because there are many enemies, that present themselues against the peace and prosperitie of the Church, which could not be resisted (with victorie) but by more then common discretion; yet it is one thing to know and preuent, and another to trauell in vnlawfull *Politique* designes.

Pollitique. Secondly, The Romane *State* doth support the body of her greatnes vpon this particular *Policie*, that by her *Priests* and *Iesuites* she can discouer all *States*. This (in the discretion of *State*) is such a strength as that she might be thought inuincible, but that God doth fight against her.

Morall. Thirdly, hee that intrudes himselfe into such

ſuch buſineſſe, wherein both his profeſſion and his particular cauſe would make him a ſtranger, is iniurious to himſelfe and others, to himſelſe, becauſe hee muſt neglect his owne particular, to others, becauſe he doth vndertake that cauſe, wherein he is, or ſhould be ignorant.

X CHAP.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the Chriſtian care Queene ELIZABETH *had, to defend certaine Chriſtian Princes and their* STATES.

Euery mans care.

FIRST, it is euerie ones care to prouide for themſelues, and to labour the aduancement of their own proſperous fortunes; but few there be who care for other men, or that labour in the trauell of other mens affaires. And among all the ſorts of men, theſe few are the beſt; for by this demonſtration of Charitie they approue themſelues to bee good men and Chriſtians; good men by the Law of Nature, and good Chriſtians by the Law of grace. This Charitable communicating of giftes and benefits, being commanded and commended before all earthly regards. And therefore, he that with true Chri-

Charity doth approue vs good men & Children of God.

Christian respect loueth his neighbour keepeth halfe the Law, and he that loueth God keepeth it all; yet he that made this Lawe, could thus expound it, that no man can obserue all the Lawe, vnlesse he first obserue the halfe, neither can any man giue God his dutie, who first will not giue his Loue to his Neighbour, which is not giuen, vnlesse wee declare it in our exercise of such charitable offices, as we haue power to doe, and as the necessities of our Christian brethren may require them.

Loue the fulfilling of Gods Law.

Secondly, and this is the dutie of euerie Christian man, of what estate soeuer; it is also the dutie of euerie Christian kingdome, to support one another in their iust quarrels, and to communicate to each other their generall commodities. And howsoeuer in many states (of Christian name) this strictnesse of conscience is not regarded; yet in the best it is, and in all it ought to be, for the puritie of Christian Religion is of that excellent pureneſſe, that no staine can be in the vse thereof without dishonourable imputation. And we all know that in the practise

The dutie of euery Christian.

The care which ought to be regarded in all States.

The purity of Christian Religion.

The difference of Chriſtian and heathenish State.

of heatheniſh and barbarous Common-Wealths, are many things very commendable which in a Chriſtian State would appeare moſt odious, becauſe in thoſe States they reſpect greatneſſe only, and there any thing is allowable that may helpe them forward. But where goodneſſe and vertuous name is deſired, there men neglect the offer of all euill occaſions, and embrace that onely for lawfull and good, which (in the iudgement of good conſcience) is approued lawfull and good.

Queene Elizabeth *moſt compaſſionate.*

Diſtreſſed Chriſtian Princes.

Thirdly, And in theſe heauenly reſpects of Chriſtian commiſeration, we haue good cauſe, and ſo haue many Princes in Chriſtendome, to remember *Queene Elizabeth* moſt mercifull and compaſſionate; who did euer entertaine the extremities of diſtreſſed Chriſtian Princes, and whoſe hands were euer armed with valour, and victory, to ſupport them in their kingly reputations, & to defend them from the iniuries of their ambitious & powerfull enemies. But becauſe the number of her princely deſeruings in this kinde were many, and to report them would

would require large circumſtance. I will therefore make choiſe onely of ſome particulars of beſt memorie, and of moſt importance, ſuch as being knowne may reduce to memorie the glory and greatneſſe of the *Queenes* actions. And the honour which the name of *England* hath got in being gouerned by a Ladie of ſo matchleſſe a reputation.

In reſpect of Scotland.

Fourthly, And as that neereſt to vs in reſpect of weighty conſequence. I remember *Scotland* firſt, a kingdome which before her time, neuer ſtood aſſured to the fauour of *England*, but what by reaſon of their naturall diſcord, and becauſe of the combination betweene the kingdome of *France* and it; that nation hath euer bene ſuſpected of ours, and we of them; and therefore both of vs haue euer commonly ſtood in the tearmes of lealouſie, and both our Nations haue had regardful eye to the proceeding of each other: yet with ſuch wiſedome, could thoſe times order their affaires of *State*, as that theſe their diſagreements were not hazerdous to the fortunes of either kingdomes; but continued for reſpects of *Pollicie* inſo-

The wiſedome of thoſe times.

inſomuch as the Warres of *Scotland* with vs, were rather emulations than VVarres; and ours with them were rather for manly exerciſe, than any deſire to ſubuert or vtterly ouerthrow the bodie of that *State*. And in truth it cannot be imagined two Nations ſo neere as they are (how euer made friends by allyance or other friendly entertainements) could liue without giuing of offence to one another, nor without many ſpitefull and hot contentions, theſe two Kingdomes in one Iſle being like two wiues in one houſe, vnder one and the ſame husband, euer being in ciuill diſpleaſure for ſuperiority, neither could theſe diſpleaſures be euer ended, but as God hath done it, making of theſe two Nations one *Monarch*: the which like one wife without competitor, he hath wedded to one husband the Kings *Maieſtie* that laſt was, and to his poſterity for euer, by whom the emulation & ſtrife of theſe euer diſagreeing natiõs is for euer compounded.

Note.

Theſe two Kingdomes in one Iſle like two wiues in one houſe.

King Iames.

Fifthly, In the glory of which deed *Queene Elizabeth* hath a greater part than any Prince in the world; becauſe in her life time,

The Queene hath the glorie of this deede.

time she did so much in that Kingdome, for the safetie of the King and that *State*, as might well declare both her power and her princely care, for that Christian Prince and his Kingdome; defending her Kingly Sonne, (our Kings Maiestie) in the right of his Kingdome, and in the truth of his Christian Religion, against all the enemies of his life and *State*: and therefore hath shee the greater glory, in defending a Christian King and his Nation in their best quarrell, and against their greatest enemies, and yet hath shee better deserued, in leauing a Kingdome, better then that to the King, and to his posterity for euer. Thus did the power of the *Queene* defend that Nation, which the power of her predecessors had many times offended; she recompensing (at once) the iniuries and harmes, which (they) the former Kings and Queenes (of *England*) had many times inflicted on that Kingdome. And therefore haue they good cause to honour her remembrance, and to giue her name the best merit of all the rase of her princely predecessors.

The Queene euer fauorable to Scotland.

The Queene defended that nation which her predecessors had much offended.

Sixthly, But ſhe who was large in the vſe of her Chriſtian mercy, could not thus bound her vertues in the limits of an Iland, neither could ſhe content her ſelfe that ſhe had done well, but delighteth to continue her well-doing. And therefore being inuited by the neceſſitie of the *French Kings* occaſion, *Henrie* the Fourth, ſhe reacheth him her hand of fauour to *France*, and there ſhe witneſſeth the greatneſſe of her power, and the greatneſſe of her mercifull regard; that notwithſtanding that Nation had bene the corriuall of this, and had euer enuied the proſperity of our many victories. And though the *Queene* her ſelfe was lawfully intereſted into the title of that Crowne, yet would ſhe not take aduantage of theſe opportunities, but ſo powerfully ſhe aſſiſted the King; as that by her meanes, he might well ſay to haue gained the garland, which without the *Queenes* aſſiſtance had either not bene got, or not ſo gainfully obtained.

The French King.

A princely regard.

Seuenthly, And if any one obiect, the *Queene* was improuident to conferre her fauours to a nation, which had euer more enuied

Obiection.

uied & oppoſed the proſperity of her owne kingdome, & whereof ſhe had no aſſurance, let them remember that the *Queene* was neuer altogether ruled by the perſwaſion of *State* reaſon and that in this particular, ſhee deuiſeth not how to inlarge her owne kingdome, but how the kingdome of God might by her be any way aduanced. And becauſe that then the *French King* did declare himſelfe to profeſſe the *Proteſtant Religion*: ſhe therfore thought it the office of her high place to defend him in the cauſe of Religiõ, & to defend that chriſtian faith, whereof ſhe was made Defendreſſe; the which ſhe did ſo fortunately, that he obtained his kingdome, & ſhe a name of honour that wil liue for euer in al thoſe places of the world, where the vertues & honourable deeds of noble perſonages are recorded. And let the *French*-men for euer remember her name thankefully, as their noble *Defendreſſe*: let them remẽber alſo that as our engliſh Kings haue euer bene a terror to their natiõ, ſo this Q. of *Englãd* was their cõfort, & ſhe by whoſe fauour they obtained that benefit, which preſẽtly they enioy in

Anſwer. The Queene neuer altogether ruled by the perſwaſion of State.

The qneenes reaſon.

The Frenchmen owe thankes to the name of Queene Elizabeth.

in their King and in their peaceable *State*,

Eighthly, Another instance of the *Queenes* fauorable commiseration was the King and kingdome of *Portingall*, the poore King *Anthonie* being executed by *Philip* King of *Spaine*, a power that (by much) did ouermatch *Anthonie*, and therefore this *Portingall* made his resort to implore the fauour of *Queene Elizabeth*, who (after the Nature of her gratious spirit) compassionates his great miserie, and furnisht him very princely towards the reobtaining of his kingdome.

The King and kingdome of portingall.

Ninthly, And though this businesse had not successe answerable to hopefull expectation; God otherwise disposing it, yet doth not that diminish, the Queenes gratious merit, for it is not in any earthly power to giue victory at pleasure but to attempt onely, and to leaue the successe to the will of God. Againe, we see that the greatest earthly powers haue often failed in the like attempts, because (as I haue said) no Prince can giue victory at his pleasure, but must abide

None can giue victory at his pleasure.

bide the fortune of the day which is alway vncertaine. And who can tell but that God (in iudgement to that people) would not suffer the *Queenes* good purpose to preuaile, neither doe all men agree on the lawfulnesse of *Anthonies* title, many approuing the right of the King of *Spaine* to the Crowne of *Portingall* to be more iust than that of *Anthonies*: yet the *Queene* is not to be blamed for taking part with *Anthonie* against her profest enemie, the King of *Spaine* then hauing declared himselfe such an enemie to the Queene and her *State*, as made it behoofull for the *Queene* to apprehend all occasions to weaken him.

Gods iudgement.

The doubt of Anthonies *title.*

Tenthly The *Queene* therefore had a double respect in this *Portingall* voyage: first, to repossesse the wronged king (for so she beleeued him:) secondly, to disaduantage the great enemie of her *State*, whereby to make him the lesse able to offend her. And therefore though she failed in finishing, yet was her purpose good, and doth merit to bee ranked among her other honourable deeds, & because it was done principally in fauour of

The queenes double respect in this voyage.

A reason for the Queenes excuse.

of a distressed Christian Prince to relieue him in the extremities of his hard fortune; it deserueth so much the more of honourable remembrance, and to bee reputed, as an effect caused by the *Queenes* most gratious disposition.

The States of the Low-Countries.

Eleuenthly, A fourth instance of the *Queenes* gratious fauour to forraigne Princes, is *Belgica* the *States* of the Low-Countries where the *Queene* hath done so much as hath made her famous in all the world, receiuing those little pettie *States* into her protection against the King of *Spaine*(at that time the greatest Prince in Christendome, the which quarrell shee did maintaine with such aduantage, as made the king feare her and the world admire her.

A dangerous Obiection.

Twelfthly, And howsoeuer there be that obiect, the *Queene* did iniurie to the *Spanish King* to assist his rebellious subiects against him (for so they repute the States of the Low-Countries) yet doe I verily beleeue otherwise. For though I will not dispute the title of the king of *Spaine* to these Countries, being impertinent both to me, and to this

Historie,

Hiſtorie, yet may it aſſuredly be concluded that the *Queene* a godly and religious *Ladie*, at that time ordered by as wiſe and honourable a Counſell as was in Chriſtendome, would not raſhly haue entred into any diſhonourable quarrell, or haue done ought in the generall view of the world, that ſtood not with the reputation of her princely name. And this doe they well vnderſtand, who beſt vnderſtood the *Queenes* nature, who reſpected the honour of her princely name as much as any other Prince euer did.

The anſwer.

The queenes nature.

13. And though it be iudged that the ſtates were *Rebells* to the King of *Spaine*, yet conſidering the full oppoſition of that time betweene *England* and *Spaine*, it may ſeeme reaſonable in the *Queene* to take this aduantage offered by the Low-Countries, and to protect them for the ſecurity of her owne peace, aſwell becauſe of their conformity in Religion, as alſo for the better diſinabling of her mortall enemie, who by all contriuement ſought the detriment of her ſtate. And beſides there is a great difference in them, who

A ſecond reaſon of the Queenes doings.

Note.

who moue Rebellion, and them, who imploy Rebells being moued to opportune purpoſes, eſpecially conſidering the enmity of him againſt whom they Rebell.

Euill men readie to traduce the Queene.

14. And this I write to anſwer the euill rumors of ſuch men, who are moſt ready to traduce the Queenes moſt honourable deſeruings. For neither do I condemne the *States* for Rebells, neither do I acquite them of that imputation, but onely anſwere for the honour of *Queene Elizabeth*: that howſoeuer the controuerſie ſtood betweene the Low Countries and *Spaine*, the offence was ſo great betweene vs, and the Spaniard, as may ſeeme to iuſtifie the *Queene* in her proceedings. And therefore they who calumniate and bite her name cauſeleſſe; doe like *Doggs*, who barke againſt the Sunne, which in deſpight of enuy and them, will for euer ſhine vpon the face of the earth, and her vertuous name (like *Vertue*) will appeare more glorious by the vitious oppoſition of enuie, and from the falſe ſlanders of euill men ſhall ariſe her commendation.

The offence betweene England and Spaine a ſufficient reaſon for theſe proceedings.

Vertue the better for oppoſition.

The Queene iuſtifiable in this quarrell.

15. Therefore I dare boldly conclude, that

that in this particular of the Low Countries the *Queen* did that was very iuſtifiable, conſidering the circumſtance of the Spanniſh warres, and conſidering with what honour it hath beene done, ſhee hath merited the higheſt honour, that victorie and honourable armes can deſerue. And this truth (no doubt) the *States* themſelues will witneſſe with me, who haue often triumphed in the Conqueſt of her victories: and ſo will the *Spaniards* too (whoſe experience hath made them know her well) vnleſſe that enuie, and the remembrance of former quarrels prompt them with falſe conſtructions.

The Spaniards & the States can both report the Queenes victories.

16. In theſe, and in many other particulars, hath the *Queen* declared her ſelfe a moſt noble *Defendreſs* of the *Catholike Faith*, whoſe cares were euer ſeruants to the neceſſities of ſuch Chriſtian States, as would deſire them, whereby ſhee hath with much honourable applauſe) ſpent the number of her fortunate daies, and whereby ſhee hath moſt nobly defended the profeſſors, and the profeſſion of the *Catholike Faith*: Whoſe kingdome little England hath been a ſanctuarie for

The queenes cares euer ſeruants to the neceſſities of Chriſtian princes.

The honour of the Engliſh Nation.

for holy and religious persons to flie to, from all places of trouble and persecution, and who hath euer bene willing & able to offend the bad & defend the better sort of people.

Obseruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

Diuine. FIRST, To intend and prosecute our owne good onely, doth not discharge the duty of a Christian conscience; For *Piety* is like God who hath a generall reference to all creatures.

Pollitique. Secondly, A Prince that doth support his distressed neighbour *States* in their righteous quarrells, doth a worke both Religious and *Pollitique*. *Religious* becausethe rules of conscience command such charitable supportations; and *Pollitique*, becausehis owne distresse may challenge from them the like retribution.

Morall. Thirdly, Whatsoeuer is in any mans estate or power, more than may suffice for the welbeing of his owne particular, hee ought to conferre

conferre that with charitable beneuolence vpon common diſtreſſes, only he hath liberty in the choiſe of his particulars.

CHAP. XXIX.

A remembrance of ſome particulars, wherein God hath defended this Defendreſſe of the Faith Queene ELIZABETH.

FIRST, It is moſt true, that they who defend Gods quarrell, ſhall in their iuſt quarrells bee defended by him, and they who denie him in any ſeruice, them will he denie the fauour of his protection. For as God is moſt Iealous of his honour, and hateth to be vnregarded of his Creature, ſo is he wonderfully contented in the faithfull ſeruices of men, abhorring (in his diuine Nature) not to double the recompence of ſuch reward. And therefore when God giueth commandements,

God the beſt recompencer of deſerts.

God moſt aſſured in his promiſes.

dements, he giueth them with promiſe to reward the obſeruers of them, whereby holy men haue beene euer comforted with this aſſurance, that God is moſt aſſured in his promiſes, it being impoſſible to his diuine Nature, to be either forgetfull or vngratefull. Na (rather) ſo delighted he is with obedience, that (moſt carefully) he apprehendeth euery little ſeruice of men, to reward it with infinite of benefits.

Gods reward

In the queens particular.

Secondly, this truth is knowne both by holy examples, and by teſtimonies moſt holy, it is knowne alſo in the Queenes particular, whom God did wonderfully protect againſt all the power of *Hell* & *Earth*. For I aſſuredly beleeue there was neuer any Chriſtian Prince in the world, againſt whom were ſo many practiſes, & diueliſh proiects attempted; her enemies cõtinually working againſt her, either by their power or by their *Pollicie*, either by forraigne, or by ciuill warres; either by open or by ſecret practiſes; ſometimes by inuaſion, & ſometimes by Rebellion; by poyſon often by conſpiracie more often; ſo that there was no weapon, which in

Many practiſes againſt the Queene.

The diuers ſorts of practiſes.

the

the wiſedome of diuelliſh art, might deſtroy her, but it was brandiſhed againſt her, yet did God ſtand betweene her & danger, and bare off many times the blow of death, at the inſtant when the deſtroyers arme was heaued againſt her; and ſuch as haue bene ſolemnly ſworne to deſtroy her, and haue vowed their reſolutiō by taking the Sacrament, & though the opportunities of time and place ſerued them; yet in the very act haue they fainted, being daunted with the Maieſty of her heauenly preſence. And though the greateſt Princes & *Potentates* in *Chriſtēdome*, did combine themſelues againſt her, withall their power whereby there was continual practiſe on foot to deſtroy her; yet did the hand of God leade her thorow all thoſe dangers, and made her trauell an honourable length of daies, and then giue vp her ſoule in peace to his hands who had ſo wonderfully protected her.

Gods ſpeciall prouidence for the Queenes ſafetie.

Daunted with her Maieſty.

Thirdly, It was therefore fruitles and vaine to contriue againſt her whom God would defend, & by whoſe mighty deliuerance he had declared himſelf to fauour her; ſome of

It is in vaine to reſiſt the power of God.

which particulars I will remember, the generall being to large an argument to diſcourſe on.

Her trouble in her Siſters time.

Fourthly, The ſtorie of her heauie perſecution, the time of her Siſters gouernement is common to euery mans knowledge; & therfore I need not report the manner of that, nor the manner of her Chriſtian ſuffering it: yet this is worthy of obſeruation that (at that time) God did ſuffer her enemies to preuaile far, but not to her deſtruction; and it may ſeeme wonderful, that conſidering Q. *Marie* did rule the *State*, and *Stephen Gardiner* the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* did rule her, & that both of them did moſt perfectly hate Q *Elizabeth*: how the *Queene* could poſſibly auoid their euill malice.

Her enemies could not preuaile to her deſtruction.

An obiection.

Fifthly, And though it be obiected that becauſe of *Queene Elizabeths* innocence, *Queene Mary* and the *Biſhop* could not haue haue their purpoſe, it is otherwiſe: For the diſpleaſure of a Prince diſpoſed to Reuenge, can in the faireſt life finde foule occaſions.

The anſwer.

Note.

And when authority hateth the perſon of any one, it is moſt eaſie to brand them with offences.

offences. And this could *Stephen Gardiner* well vnderſtand, who had profited as much and more in the learning of pollicie than in piety, and holy wiſedome. And therefore though the *Queenes* innocence was a cauſe of her ſafetie, yet was there a greater cauſe (the fauour of God) which did defend her againſt the power of *Pollicie*, which her innocence could not doe.

The queenes innocence was a cauſe, but not the onely cauſe of her ſafetie.

Sixthly, after ſhe was *Queene*, when the ſtorme did ſeeme to be paſt, did it then begin againe with greater furie, the *Pope* ſending his turbulent ſpirits into this Nation to ſet the kingdome in combuſtion, who by his interdictions and papall curſes, did ban the *Queene* from heauen, abſoluing her ſubiects from their obedience: depoſing the *Queene*, and diſpoſing of her Kingdomes, as he thought conuenient. And this by reaſon of the fauour of *Romiſh Religion*, did ſome hurt in the State; the Earles of *Weſtmerland* and *Northumberland* by this incouragement, raiſe Rebellious Armes againſt the *Queene* and the *State* of Religion. But God the great enemie of *Traitors* confounds this

After ſhe was Queene.

The practiſe of the Pope againſt her.

The two Earles, Weſtmerlād and Northūberland.

Gods defence for the queen

practise of the *Popes* confounds his rebellious instruments the two *Earles*, scatters their rebell troopes, and giueth the *Queene* an honourable victory.

The Spanish King.

Seuenthly, The *Pope* finding these oppositions to weake, incites a more able enemie against her, *Philip* King of *Spaine*, who by reason of his *Indian Wealth* and his large command of people, may bee thought the most able Prince in Christendom, between whom and the *Queene* the Warres were maintained with much resolution and valour; yet by reason of the maine distance betweene their Kingdomes, they were lesse fearefull than otherwise they would haue bene, if these two, *England* and *Spaine* had bene neighbour Nations. And therefor the common attempts on both parties were to Roue at *Sea*, and make prey of such *Merchants* and others, as had not power to resist them, whereof it happened that both of them, both lost and wonne, according as good occasion, and the fortune of VVarre would fauour them.

The common attempts on both sides.

The nature of our English Warres with Spaine.

Eighthly, And in these heates and prouo-

cati-

cations did these warres continue whereby both Nations became in the greatest hatred of one another that could be. And the *Spanyard* naturally proud, and hauing got many victories in other parts of the world, thought it much to his dishonour, that little *England* should be able to resist his greatnes, the rather he being ayded by the *Pope*, and *England* vnassisted by any other confederate saue the Low-Countries. Therefore he made great preparation to inuade this kingdome, that by the Conquest thereof he might declare his greatnesse and (at once) end that warre, which had bene continued (by Sea fights and other pettie grieuances) a long time. And for this end was that huge Nauie of Ships prouided by them; Christened *the inuincible Nauie*, which anchoring neere our English Coast, appeared like a Citie of *Ships*, or like another *England* come to inuade *England*; so confident were they in the trust of this victory, that before hand they would dispose of *Earledomes*, Lordships, and large Possessions, bringing with them whips and other instruments of torment,

The Spanish preparation to inuade England.

The inuincible Nauie, Anno. 1588.

Their prond confidence.

Gods defence for the queen

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The Spaniſh preparation to inuade England.

The inuincible Nauie, Anno. 1588.

Their proud confidence.

ment, to afflict the victored English, ouer whom they neuer were victors.

God hateth pride in all Creatures.

Ninthly, But God who saw this their presumptuous pride and hated it in the Nature of his Angels, would not flatter it in the Nature of the *Spanyards*, and that men might know that he onely, and not the numbers of men can giue victory, he in a trice dissolues this huge Congregation of *Ships*; and by the wisedome & *Pollicie* of one little man onely, did he vtterly ouerthrow this mighty *Goliah*, this huge hoast by the *Spanyards* reputed and reported to be inuincible.

His mighty deliuerance.

Sir Francis Drake.

Tenthly, And thus did God giue a gratious deliuerance to his seruant *Elizabeth*; making her triumph in the spoyle of her enemies, and to ouerthrow that strength, which in iudgement was thought inuincible. And for the *Queene* her selfe in these weighty affaires, she neuer gaue the least demonstration of feare, but in her owne person and in her greatest hazard, would shee by orations animate and inflame the valour of her people, shewing the greatnesse of her noble Spirit, with such proofes of Maiestie,

How the Queene behaued her selfe in these weighty affaires.

ieſtie, as the greateſt courage in the world could not do more. By theſe particulars out of many, may appeare how much *Queene Elizabeth* was in Gods fauour, and how admirably hee hath defended this moſt noble *Defendreſſe* of the *Catholike Faith.*

CHAP. XXX.

Of Queene ELIZABETHS *reſolute continuing the defence of the Catholike* FAITH.

FIRST, Before our end wee are not certainely knowne what we are, becauſe of the many alterations & turnings, whereto all Earthly things are ſubiect; for wee ſee that the beginning, and the endings of many vtterly diſagree, and that many haue a hope-

No man certainly known before his end.

a hopefull beginning, whoſe ends are deſperate; and a man may enterpriſe well that cannot finiſh well. Therefore as euery thing is iudged by the euent, ſo euery man is iudged by his end, he being moſt properly ſaid to be ſuch a man, as he ſhall declare himſelfe in his laſt reſolutions.

The glory of our life is to continue in well doing.

Secondly, It is then the glory of our life to continue in well doing, and that no conſideration moue vs to retire from the vſe of vertuous deeds, and to abandon that whereby we haue gotten a reputation of vertuous liuing.

The queenes godly conſtãcie.

Thirdly, And this godly conſtancie hath well appeared in *Queene Elizabeth* who euer continued her ſelfe moſt conſtant in her Religious Reſolution. For as ſhe was ruled being vnder gouernement, ſo ſhee ruled when ſhe had the gouernement, and ſo ſhe left the rule when ſhe left the gouernement: ſhe was borne in the Faith of the *Proteſtant Religion*, ſhe liued in that Faith, and in that Faith ſhe died; her aduerſity in her Siſters time could not weary her, nor her proſperity in her own time varie her, but in both times was ſhe one

She was anſwerable to her conſtant mot. Semper eadem.

without

without alteration. At her entring the *State* ſhe tooke vpon her the Defence of the *Catholike Faith*; the which ſhe attempted nobleſy, continued conſtantly, and finiſhed happily; for as ſhe began, ſo ſhe continued, and as ſhee continued ſo ſhee ended.

Her conſtancie apparent.

Fourthly, This her Chriſtian conſtancie is moſt apparant in the view of her gouernement, where her hands were euer working for the defence of Faith, defending it at home, defending it abroad, for her ſelfe defending it, and defending it for others; euer in trauell for this holy buſineſſe, the particulars whereof (if I ſhould report them,) I ſhould ouercharge my poore abilitie with too much buſineſſe, and peraduenture preuent the Labours of ſome other better able to report them. For it cannot be that the honorable name of this great *Queene* ſhould euer dye, or that the remembrance of her vertuous and Princely deedes ſhould periſh in forgetfulnes, becauſe this Nation which ſhe hath ſo much honoured, hath many generous and ſufficient Learned men, whoſe honeſtie

In the view of her gouernement.

The name of Queene Elizabeth *cannot periſh in England.*

honeſtie will neuer ſuffer, that *England* loſe the honour of her famous memorie, by whoſe great Maieſty *England* it ſelfe, and the name of *Engliſh-man* is (throughout the world) made very famous.

Fiftly, And I heartily wiſh, that theſe my poore vndertakings in this honorable cauſe, may prouoke (be it by enuie or diſpleaſure) ſome better ſufficiency to report her moſt Princely deſeruings: and it iuſtly doth moue admiration in many, that among ſo much ſufficient Learning as this Land hath, ſuch a *Queene*, ſuch a *Patroneſſe* of *Pietie & Learning*, ſhould not liue in the written monumẽts of their beſt ſufficiencie, whoſe name hath got degrees aboue admiration, with Princes of the greateſt commaund in the World. And moſt excellent *Prince* (may it pleaſe your Grace I may report the loue I will euer owe the liuing name of this dead *Queene*, and the content I haue that my ſtudies are, and haue beene imployed in theſe honourable arguments: For howſoeuer in all other things I am little in the fauour of *Fortune*. Yet in this I acknowledge her liberality,

A requeſt to the learned of this Land.

beralitie, that this great Princeſſe (by *Fortune*) doth liue in the memorie of my writings.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of the laſt act of the Queenes defence for the Catholike Faith.

FIRST, the laſt act of the *Queens* defence for the *Catholike Faith*, was the care ſhee had at her death to ſurrender the charge of her high place, to a Prince faithfull and aſſured, and to ſuch a one, whom (in her Princely iudgement) ſhee had found fit to mannage a matter of that conſequence. And this was a care very Chriſtian in the *Queene*, and which declared the truth of her Religious affection. For they that loue and deſire the world onely; and that haue no hope in the fauour of God or in the happineſſe of heauen; neuer trouble themſelues to care for

The laſt defence ſhee made for the Catholike Faith.

A moſt Chriſtian care.

A worldly care.

for that which may outliue their life, imagining that when they die, the care of the world doth perish with them, neither haue such any care to benefit posterity, but content themselues with the prosperitie of their owne life. But the holy care of *Christians* is otherwise, and doth reach further than life, euen to the length of all posteritie.

To benefit posterity.

The care of Christians.

Secondly, for the *Queene* (in respect of ciuill life) might haue thought it sufficient for her honour, and for the discharge of her high place, that she her selfe had finished her holy course, with so great a commendation: (but in respect of Religious life) she hath a further care, to care to preuent all euil meanes, which might any way ruine that frame which she with so much painefulnesse had erected. And to this end the *Queene* hath a most Christian care, commending the cause of the Christian & *Catholike Faith*, to the Faith and truth of the Kings *Maiestie* our souereigne that was, whom by her last wil she interested, to the title of her Crowne, and to whom she made surrender of her office, to defend the quarrell of the *Catholike Faith*.

The queenes persecution.

King Iames.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, and if any man obiect, that the *Queenes* nominating the Kings Maieſtie at her death to inherit her kingdomes, was of ſmall merit in the *Queene*, and of no furtherance to the Kings cauſe, becauſe (of neceſſity) the inheritance muſt haue diſcended to the King, it being his Maieſties in *Iuſtice*, and by the right of Law. I anſwer, that howſoeuer it is moſt true of the Kings inheritance, and that it could not rightfully diſcend to any other: yet conſidering the reuerence was had to the perſon of the *Queene*, and the intereſt ſhe had in the hearts of all her ſubiects, it had bene dangerous if ſhe had nominated any other to ſucceed her; and it was her ſpeciall prouidence, that at that time ſhe named the King to this inheritãce.

Obiection.

Anſwer.

Fourthly, againe, there are others who haue blamed the *Queene* for not publiſhing this her good purpoſe to the King in her life time, and haue thought that the open acknowledgement thereof, was neceſſarie both to further the Kings peaceable entrance, and to giue ſatisfaction to the doubtfull mindes of the *Queenes* ſubiects, the ignorant

Another obiection.

Reaſons.

rant vnlearned people being the greater part of the body of this Land, and seeing they could not themselues satisfie this doubt, it was needfull they should be instructed, in the Kings lawfull title to the Crowne, and that publike Proclamation should haue bene made (in the *Queenes* life time) to that end, lest the simplicity of the common people (when occasion might need them) should be abused by false vnderstanding, and drawne from their dutifull seruice, which could not haue bene, if the *Queene* before hand, had declared the King her Successor, and lawfull heyre.

The answer. Fifthly, I answer, these reasons are weake and of little consideration, and that the *Queene* and her Counsell, had many weighty reasons to diswade this publique proclaiming of the Kings right in the *Queenes* time. And these reasons haue respect to the safetie of the Queene and her state, and to the King and his title. For by this meanes the King himselfe had care, not to discontent the Queene but to continue his Grace in her fauourable estimation. Againe, it preuented

2.

enuie,

enuie, and the danger of conſpiracies of ſuch who haue bene named for competitors. Laſtly, it was a meanes to preſerue the *Queenes* reputation among her ſubiects, a great part whereof, would haue bene giuen the King before it was due, if he had bene proclaimed heyre apparant to the *Queene* and Crowne, which might haue proued dangerous to his perſon, and dangerous to the ſtate of theſe kingdomes. For great men and the great ſpirits of men being intitled to much wealth and great dignities, haue not many times the patience to attend their lawfull times, but preuent time and take it before hand, the which though it was moſt falſe in the kings particular, yet was it needfull the wiſedome of *State* ſhould then regard it. And therefore did *Queene Elizabeth* that which was moſt reaſonable in it ſelfe, moſt conſiderable for the king and the *State* of *England*, and moſt conſcionable for the diſcharge of her princely place, whoſe honourable deeds I ſhall euer moſt willingly report to whoſe name I liue a ſeruant, and whoſe praiſe I would not thus niggardly

3.

scant, but that I vnderstand a man of much better ability in respect of all learned sufficiencie, hath vndertaken that taske.

THis Phœnix Queene ELIZABETH is without Comparison.

OF

OF THE NEXT DEFENDOR OF THE Faith, King IAMES, the Kings *most excellent Majestie that last was.*

CHAP. XXXII.

FIRST, There is no wisedome in the world, either of men or Angells, that can (certainly) foresee the truth of future euents, or determine what shall be the issue of those things which are held doubtfull. For God hath not giuen to the nature of any Creature to know things before they be, that being proper to himselfe onely, who at one instant of time is able to comprehend the knowledge of all things, both past, present, and to come. For before

None but God can foretell the truth of future euents.

Gods decree.

His prouidence.

Councell.

When Gods secrets are knowne to men.

All things are iudged by their euents and not otherwise.

things were did God ordeine what should be, & determine euery circumstãce of euery worke of *Nature*, which in their appointed times) were to follow. And these infinite nũber of varieties doth he direct by his hand of prouidẽce to those ends he hath determined, shutting them vp (in the meane time) in the closet of his secret counsel, whereinto the vnderstanding of any creature had neuer liberty to enter: and when God shall please to bring them into act, they are thẽ no more his secrets, but common to the vnderstandings of al men that desire to know them. So that they come not to mans knowledge, before they passe from the secret of Gods counsell into act, where before they are not knowne, but onely to such choise particulers to whom God shall please to make them manifest: For as no man is able to declare the fortunes of to morrow before the day be ended, so in euery other worke no creature is able certainely to determine, what will be before it be; all things (in respect of humane indgement) being iudged by their euents and not otherwise.

Secondly,

Secondly, and therefore is calculating and the iudgement of *Astrologie* vncertaine, and a very mockery, hauing neither lawfulneſſe nor *Truth* to giue it authority. And though the *Diuiner* ſometime hit the truth, hee doth it not by any certaine direction, but by hap and at peraduenture, and ſo the blinde may hit the *Butt*, and the reporter of many lies, may fortune to tell a truth.

Aſtrologie and calculating vncertaine.

Thirdly, and this falſe fore-iudging is of ordinary cuſtome in the vſe of all worldly affaires, euery man (almoſt) aduenturing to Iudge before hand of euery accident, and to determine how God ſhall determine of ſuch and ſuch occaſions, whereby they would tie God to a neceſſity, and that needs hee muſt doe that, which in their weake iudgement, they imagine will bee done. But God who is moſt abſolute, and able to doe whatſoeuer ſhall pleaſe himſelfe, deludeth the vaine imaginations of men, (and out of the greateſt vnlikelihoods) can hee frame that which is moſt deſired and leaſt hoped neither is hee

Falſe fore-iudging.

The fooliſh impudence of men.

God iudgeth not as man by apparãce.

as man to iudge by apparance, or by the consequence of humane reason, but out of death can he raise life, out of miserie, mercie, and in the greatest expectation of warre, blood, and persecution, can he giue peace safetie and preseruation.

The Kings Maiesty

Fourthly, Wee haue happie instance of this in the fortunes of the Kings *Maiestie* that last was: King *Iames* our Souereigne, whom God most gratiously (and beyond all expectation) did protect, making him fortunate to the honour of his owne name, and for the happinesse of these Nations, combining (by him) two euer disagreeing nations in the neerest bonds of Loue and Brotherhood. And this did God make prosperous beyond our hopes, and beyound the euill desires of them who loued vs not. For if we remember the latter time of Queene *Elizabeths* reigne, and the hard condition of those times, we shall then finde how much the mercie of God hath exceeded our hopes, and how much the generall opinion was deceiued in the construction of that euent, men generally expecting the miserie of warre, and

God hath exceeded our hopes.

Mens expectations deceiued.

ciuill

ciuill ſtrife, when God did reach vs his mercie, and the large demonſtration of his Loue.

Fifthly, And (in truth) in reſpect of likely hood, both Nations *England* and *Scotland* had reaſon to haue feared more, and hoped leſſe then happened, it being not likely to ſucceed as it did, and that a people inueterate in quarrell and warlike contention, ſhould in ſuch peaceable manner ſhake hands, and conſpire mutually one thing, which for many hundreds of yeares before did euer diſagree, & which is more in a matter ſo important, as was the vniting of both kingdomes in the gouernement of one abſolute Souereigne. Neither was it likely there wanted then the practiſe of forreigne *States*, eſpecially of ſuch as enuied our proſperity and loued vs not, which might trauell to hinder this happie coniunction, whereby our ſtrength became double ſo much as before, and therefore our enemies would couet rather to ſuppreſſe than to inlarge vs, leaſt we hauing the kingdome of *Scotland* to aſſiſt vs, which (before was commonly either enemie or *newter*) might proue vnreſiſtable

In reſpect of likely-hood.

The practiſe of forreigne States our enemies.

in the fortune of warre, who before we had it, were so often *Conquerours*.

A matter very considerable.

Sixthly, And this assuredly was a matter very considerable for them to preuent, and such as the *Pollitique* wisedome of *States* men would carefully apprehend. For in the discretion of *State* affaires, it is better and of lesse difficultie to preuent the augmentation of our enemies power, then when it is augmented to scatter it. And those things in the opportunity of their times, are of easie reach, which afterwards in a time vnfit proue vnaccessable & not within our compas, and this Iudgement could not want in them who most carefully search the secrets of all pollicie, and trauell their wits to apprehend and contriue all aduantages: yet notwithstanding all these occasions, which in common iudgement might haue letted the Kings peaceable entrance into this Kingdome, did God bring him vnder the protection of his fauour in security and peace, and with generall acclamation, binding the enuie of all opposition, and making his enemies shew themselues his friendly entertai-

The discretion of State.

Note.

Gods fauour to the King.

ners,

ners,& the antiēt enemies of this kingdom to congratulate his Kingly inheritance. And this did God with ſuch admirable demonſtration of his fauour, as that his Maieſtie and his Subiects of both kingdomes, haue good cauſe to remember it for euer moſt thankefully: whoſe life God did wonderfully preſerue, and whoſe fortunes hee did highly aduance, leading him thorow many difficulties and dangers, to a faire inheritance, to inherit the obedience and faithfull ſeruice, of a people faithfull, fortunate, and aſſured: whom his predeceſſors the Kings of *Scotland* did euer moſt feare, as their moſt able enemie,& whom his Maieſty euer found, his moſt truſty and aſſured Subiects: and this was done with ſuch proſperity and forward ſucceſſe, that the report of the Q. death was ſcarce named in our neighbour kingdomes, but this report of the kings peaceable entrance, was farre off generally knowne, the good newes of the kings entring outſtripping the euill newes of the *Queenes* death, to the comfort of all good men, and to the admiration of all men.

The enemies of this Kingdome.

What the King did inherit with England.

The Kings forward ſucceſſe.

Seuenthly,

The King at his entring had no vſe for weapon but to giue honour.

Seuenthly, neither was there need (as it was thought) that the King and his Subiects of *Scotland* ſhould for this cauſe haue put themſelues into the hazard of vncertaine warre, whereby the Kings right might haue indured wrong, and *Truth* haue ſtood at the diſcretion of warre, which had bene very dangerous, and that which our enemies moſt hoped; but the happie iſſue was otherwiſe, for neither was there any to lift vp his daring hand to reſiſt his Maieſtie, neither had the King any vſe for weapons, but onely wore them for ornament and to giue names of honour to ſuch men, whom hee thought did or might deſerue them.

The happie iſſue deceiued the euill expectation.

Eighthly, And thus did God giue vs life when we feared death, peace when we feared warre, a king when we had none, a Prince, a Patron, and a moſt noble *Defendor of the Catholike Faith*, vnder whoſe protection we enioyed peace, plenty, & ſecurity. And therfore happie were we in his gratious gouernment, and happie was his Maieſty whom God found worthie, to ſucceed in the royall ſeate, and in the holy cares of that moſt famous

Gods bleſſings to our Nation.

famous *Defendreſs* of the *Faith*, Queene *Elizabeth*.

Queene Elizabeth.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of the Kings defending the Catholike Faith in Scotland, *before he was King of* England.

FIRST, there is nothing of our owne wherein wee may iuſtly glory, but in well-doing, becauſe when we doe any work of *Grace*, the Spirit of God moueth in vs, and prouoketh vs to holy exerciſe. And therein (onely) we may worthily eſteeme of our ſelues, becauſe we are accepted of God, and vſed as his holy inſtruments. And in this had the Kings *Maieſtie* much to glory, who ſo ſoone as euer he could moue, was moued by the Spirit of grace, to holy and good purpoſes. The beſt proofe of this was his Princely care for Religion, wherin at all times he approued

We ought to glory in nothing but in well-doing.

Gods inſtrument.

The Kings care for Religion.

approued himselfe both industrious and resolute, and wherein he fortunately trauelled with much prosperity and honour. The demonstration whereof is now visible in the face of *Scotland*, that kingdome being by his Maiesties happy gouernment, reduced to the first *Christian Faith*, and to a better forme of Common-wealth than formerly it had. The Church there being reformed and purged from popish Idolatrie, which had profaned both that and all other Christian Kingdomes.

The Kings reforming the state of Scotland.

Secondly, and in this the King deserued euerlasting memory and praise, that he was the first *Christian* King in that Kingdome, whose care gaue end to that miserie, and by whom that *Church* had the truth of the *Catholike Faith* practised publikely, and with the warrant of lawfull authority professed. In which holy businesse the King was verie fortunate, and for which God did make him fortunate in the passage of his Princely life assisting him in his lawfull attempts, and confounding the wicked practises of bad men, who banded against his Maiestie to

The first Protestant King in this Kingdome.

Gods assistance to the Kings good cause.

destroy

destroy him. And therefore before his Maiestie had the title of *Defendor of the Catholike Faith* did he faithfully defend it, and aduised and enioyned his Princely Sonne *Prince Henrie* to defend it. And thus did God prepare the Kings Maiestie and the Prince for the purpose of this holy businesse, and by exercising them for the defence of *Faith* in the kingdome of *Scotland*, to fit them for the like care in *England*, wherein the King most gratiously begunne his gouernment and ended it, and wherein we trust that his Sonne our gratious Souereigne that now is, and his royall seed for euer shall in these kingdomes defend the most true, most antient, and most *Catholike Faith*.

The King defended the quarrell of Faith before he had the title.

A gratious beginning & ending.

Obseruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, it is in vaine to indeauour things wherein God is opposite, for no power can alter the purpose of his prouidence. This hath instance in the *Fortunes* of these two

Diuine.

two kingdomes, *England* and *Scotland*, who haue euer laboured their seueral extremities to be vnited; the which when *Pollicie* and the wisedome of *State* could not doe. God (without these meanes) gaue it successe, and in an instant bound these disagreeing nations in the bonds of vnseparable concord.

Pollitique. Secondly, the King by publishing (in print) his opinion of *Religion* and his directions for Christian gouernement, did thereby much confirme the hopes and hearts of the better part of our English people. For it must needs be, that if the contrarie faction the *Papist* did notwithstanding this declaration of his Maiesties, presume much vpon fauour at his entrance, this presumption would (in all likely-hood) haue proued a practise, and therefore was this *Publike* satisfaction a *Religious pollicie*, that did both arme his friends, and disarme his enemies.

Morall. Thirdly, It is necessary many times to a mans Morrall reputation to maintaine his integrity by Apollogies, and publike protestations; For if the person be eminent and of *publike Note*, his good or euill name will be likewise generall.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXIIII.

In what particulers King IAMES our Souereigne that was, principally defended the Faith.

FIRST, It is often true, that the alteration of the *Prince* is a cause that the *State* is likewise altered, and that those things which formerly in the gouernement had great authority, become not only neglected but also punishable and in great contempt. And this though it bee not true in generall instance, yet in euery change of a Prince, it is either hoped of the bad, or feared of the better sort of people. Wee had particuler witnesse of that in our happie alteration; happie, because nothing but the very person of the Prince was altered) the gouernement remained in like degrees of happines: wherein *Queene Elizabeth* (to her honourable renowne

The alteration of a Prince, the alteration of State.

Nothing but the person of the Prince was altered.

The euill hopes of bad men.

nowne left it:) yet then were there many euill and discontented persons who could hopefully perswade themselues, that the opportunity was then offered which they expected, and that the time serued to reintegrate them into fauour, and to bring their cause vnder the safetie of the kings protection, And though in respect of the Kings particuler, there was little or no ground for any such hope, his Maiestie hauing before hand declared himselfe in print, how (in the case of Religion) he was resolued, yet was there a generall hope in that contrarie faction, whereby they imagined somewhat would be done if not to their absolute content, yet to their great ease, and to the lightning the burthen of their afflictions, which in the *Queenes* time they worthily indured.

The hope of factious people.

Note. That both the Papist & the puritane could conspire on hope in one particuler Prince.

Secondly, But that which is more strange and worthie of note, that not onely the *Papists* had this hopefull imagination, but their opposites also (whom men commonly call *Puritans*) had the like conceiuing, they hoping their cause should finde such large allowance of fauour with the King, that they

and

and their opinion onely, ſhould haue the countenance and warrant of the Kings protection. And that both the *Papiſt* and the regular Proteſtant ſhould be iudged vnuſefull and of neceſſity to bee excluded from the *Catholike Church*.

The ſucceſſe failed.

Thirdly, And howſoeuer the ſucceſſe of this came ſhort of common expectation, yet was this of much more likelihood then the other, both becauſe their controuerſie was not for the matter of *Religion*: but for order and for the manner of Ceremonie and circumſtance onely, and alſo becauſe the gouernment of the *Church* of *Scotland*, had neere reſemblance with that which they deſired, whereby the King might the better (or rather) be induced to giue them and their requeſt friendly intertainment. Yet notwithſtanding al theſe likelihoods, and the hopes of either partie did the King incline to neither, his *Maieſtie* finding the Church of *England* (as it was eſtabliſhed) to be the meane and vertue betweene theſe two extremities, and that their deſires were not for the peace and aduancement of the *Catholike Faith*, ac-

Church of Scotland.

The Kings reſolute conſtancie.

cording as both of them pretended, and that theſe oppoſitions were either to be reconciled, and ſo made friends, or elſe oppoſed as enemies.

Fourthly, And this may worthily ſeeme ſtrange that theſe two irreconcileable opinions, that of the *Papiſt* and this of the *Puritane*, ſhould both of them at one time, expect ſupportation from one and the ſame Prince, and from ſuch a *Prince* as had before declared himſelfe not to fauour them, that theſe who neuer conſent in any little reſemblance, ſhould thus conſpire and hope in one particular perſon. And the reaſon was the ſeuerall perſwations they had of the truth of their cauſe, wherein the maintainers of both opinions, could receiue ſpeciall ſatisfaction in themſelues, and hopefully belieue to worke the King to that acknowledgement of truth, wherein they themſelues were reſolued, and wherein (they thought was ſufficient reaſon to ſatisfie or perſwade any man. Beſides, they might peraduenture frame ſpeciall arguments of hope, to giue them incouragement in hope-

The reaſon.

Their arguments of hope

full

full proceeding, both of them apprehending euery little circumstance of hope, either in the King himselfe his Nature or fortunes.

Fiftly, But the mercie of God which had wonderfully protected the *Kings Maiestie* in safetie and prosperous fortune against many dangerous practises did not now leaue him vnassisted, but in this businesse of most important consideration, lead him to an end full of honourable merit, God giuing him so much of the wisdome of his Spirit, whereby he was able to iudge and determine this maine Controuersie, and whereby hee was able to iudge betweene Light and darknes, Truth and falsehood, Order and disorder, Religion and Idolatrie. And according to this holy iudgement did the King in his election) make particular choice, confirming the doctrine of true Religion, and the commendable order which in the Church hee found established, and confuting (by the iudgement of his owne mouth) both these & all the other enemies of *Truth* and order whatsoeuer. Thus nobly prepared did his

How God assisted the King in this important businesse.

The Kings choice.

Maieſtie defend the *Catholike Faith* againſt theſe two great enemies, enemies both of them; for the *Papiſt* hee is enemie to the Faith, and the *Puritan* is enemie to the peace of the *Catholike Church*, enemies both, yet not both alike enemies, yet both dangerous and of much conuenience to bee oppoſed by the Defendor of the *Catholike Faith*, the which his Maieſtie did to his great commendation, and to the honour of Almighty God. For the Puritan firſt, the order of the Kings gratious proceeding in this buſineſſe is well knowne to the world, by what lenity and fauourable meanes hee laboured to accord their diſagreements, and to vnite them to the peace and concord of the Church, from which they had deuided themſelues. For though by the power of his high place, he might haue forced their obedience and haue vſed the ſeueritie of correction and ſeuere Iuſtice, yet would hee not knowing how ſtiffe and wilfull they were in their opinion, and therefore to gaine them his Maieſtie was content to vſe any meanes

The Papiſt and the Puritane both enemies to the Catholike Church.

The order of the Kings proceeding againſt the Puritan.

to

to put off *Maiestie* and the authority of *Greatnesse*, and in his owne person to giue their cause a fauourable hearing, and himselfe to moderate and iudge their disputations; and therefore were they allowed to make choice of the best able men among them to defend their opinion, against whom were appointed of the Reuerend Bishops of this Land, to answer and to satisfie their arguments, in the hearing and determining, of which Controuersie his *Maiestie*, did declare himselfe to vnderstand as much in Religious Learning as the greatest *Doctor* in that presence, he himselfe confuting and confounding all pretended reason alledged against the conuenient orders of the Church, whereby at that time hee declared how well able hee was to defend the quarrell of *Faith* and *Religion* against all the Learning in the world. And thus did the King discend his *Maiestie* to satisfie the peeuish obstinacie of the Puritan faction. And whereas it is obiected that these proceedings against the Puritans, did animate

The Kings most Christian Care.

His Maiesties religious Iudgement.

The different nature of the King, and these peeuish people. Obiection.

and incourage the *Papist* an enemie of greater importance, and that it was euill order to begin reformation with the Puritans and to let the *Papist* passe as an enemie not regarded.

Answer. I answer, the order was good and most conuenient, and answerable to the rule of God himselfe For iudgement beginneth at the house of God, and it is most needfull for him that would profitably reforme others, first to reforme himselfe.

A most orderly proceeding. Sixthly, And the body of this kingdome, hauing the disease of disobedience in the chiefe members thereof, it was orderly and most necessarie; first to respect this care at home, and then to intend businesse further of, neither could the *Papist* bee incouraged by this, for they might well know that if the King fauoured not the lesse, he would not fauour the greater enemie; and if he corrected the Puritan with rods, he would whip them with scourges. And for the *Papist* howsoeuer the Kings *Maiesty* did vse them, with as much fauourable regard as any Prince in the world, would his enemies; yet was there a watchfull eye had to their proceedings,

An argument.

Papist.

The care of the State.

and

and so strict a hand was held ouer them as to distinguish them from friends; the Gouernours of *State* being most carefull to preuent whatsoeuer might be by them attempted, not doing ought against them, which might any way prouoke them to any vnlawfull practise.

Seuenthly, and this was vpon good consideration, because the Recusants in *England*, had not yet attempted ought against the Kings person and *State*: and therefore was it his Religious wisedome, not to punish before they had offended, nor with strict seuerity to restraine them, before they had made some treasonable attempt; whereby the proceedings against them, might be the more iustifiable before the whole face of Christendome. But they not content with much vnlesse they might haue all; conspire the most damnable treason, that euer by men or diuels was inuented; the report whereof (for the rareneſſe) is spread ouer all the world. For (at one blow) they purposed to smite off the heads of all the honourable in this Nation, all the Heads because all the Gouer-

The reason.

The Papists.

The Gunpowder treason.

nours both principall and subordinate, and all the Honourable, because almost all the wise and Reuerend in the Kingdome, should at one Blow haue perished.

How this might haue wrought reuenge in the Kings desire.

Eighthly, now how this Treason might haue offended, a King disposed to Reuenge, let the most patient minded in the world iudge it; but how it did moue the Kings impatience, or how his *Maiestie* reuenged it, let the most enuious Papist iudge it. For presently vpon the discouerie of this neere effected Treason; the king by his Proclamations declared, that he had no purpose, to lay their offence vpon their generall cause of Religion; nor that his Iustice should reach further then to the offendors themselues, wherein hee gaue assurance of safetie to all such Recusants, as in all other respects saue Religion were dutifull Subiects. And though for the better security of the king and *State*, there were some Statutes enacted for the better preuenting of the like dangers; yet were they verie mercifull, and farre

The Kings Proclemation.

His most religious mercie.

Statutes enacted.

from

from the Nature of Reuenge, tending onely to defend, and not to offend the quiet of any peaceable Subiect.

The Oath of Allegiance.

Ninthly, And whereas the Oath of Allegiance is by many thought verie grieuous, it is ſtrange, that any Chriſtian iudgement ſhould ſo thinke, and that any man ſhould dare to condemne that which God ſo highly commendeth; and with ſome of their beſt Learned both allow as lawfull, and haue aduiſedly taken, the which becauſe it is by others largely diſputed, I paſſe ouer.

Blackwell *the Arch-Prieſt.*

Tenthly, Now the king to adde to all theſe Chriſtian merits and to declare himſelfe with moſt direct teſtimonies, that his Princely care was principally for the Seruice of God, and the aduancement of the *Catholike Religion*; hee the Lord annointed vndertakes the quarrell of GODS cauſe, concluding by inuincible arguments, that *Truth* which Antichriſt the Arch-enemie of the *Catholike Faith* had oppoſed. Theſe his moſt Chriſtian and moſt Princely labours, are diuulged and

and laid open before the generall face of the world, whereby that man of ſin is with euidence diſcouered, and all his painted *Pollitique Religion*, laid nakedly open, in the true formes of his falſe worſhip; and whereby Chriſtian Emperours, *Kings*, and *Potentates*, are induced by the authorities of reaſon, and particuler example, to combine with God, and Gods Lieftenants (*Chriſtian Princes*) againſt all forreigne confederacie whatſoeuer. Theſe workes of Religious Learning in the King, as they were of maruellous import and ſtrength to the *Catholike Cauſe*, ſo alſo they made much for the Kings ſacred honour, and will vndoubtedly remaine to all poſterity as ornaments of his princely worth, and inducements to inflame with ſacred zeale the affections of his princely Progenie, to honour and inlarge the reputation of *Religion* and *Learning*. And howſoeuer his malitious lying enemie *Tortus* (or the Cardinall his Maſter *Bellarmine*,) would diſgrace the Kings ſufficiencie, in this kinde of learning, and would therefore father his *Maieſties* worke vpon his Subiect of leſſe authority

thority, yet are theſe iniuries both knowne and iudged by many thouſands, both of this and of other Nations, that haue had experience of his extraordinary indoumenrs: the truth whereof it is not poſſible his owne Subiects can report, without ſuſpition of flatterie.

Eleuenthly, I conclude then that the Kings *Maieſty* moſt noblely defended the *Catholike Faith* againſt all enemies, and principally againſt theſe two great ones, the *Papiſt* and the *Puritan*. *The two great enemies of our Church.*

Obſeruations { *Diuine.* *Pollitique.* *Morall.*

FIRST, there was neuer any time wherein God had not ſome *Patron* to giue the cauſe of his *Church Sanctuarie*: for though it be often in diſtreſſe, it is neuer in deſtruction. *Diuine.*

Secondly, the Kings proceeding againſt the *Papiſts* and the *Puritans*, did well diſtinguiſh the quallities of their offence, and declare *Pollitique.*

clare his owne integrity, for though he proceeded against both, yet with some distinction of fauour. For the *Puritan* was the lesse enemie, being enemie to the peace onely, but the *Papist* both to the peace and truth of the *Catholike Faith*.

Morall. Thirdly, Men measure the dgrees of loue, and hate, according to the quallity of the cause that moues the passion. But in particular relations, the personall respect doth often preuaile aboue the cause. For passion is much more strong when it is vnited in one particuler Subiect, rather than when it is deuided vnto a multitude.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXV.

A remembrance of some particulers, wherein God wonderfully defended King IAMES.

FIRST, there was neuer any Prince in the world who had more cause to acknowledge Gods fauour then King *Iames*, who trauelled his Princely life (from his Cradle to his age) thorow many dangerous fortunes; whom God still supported against the most able, and the most subtill practises of his enemies. For if we reduce to memorie, the many dangers of his life in *Scotland*, and how in that kingdome his enemies did conspire against his life and *State*, there is in that time and place matter enough of admiration. But if that were not, and that wee remembred his fortunes in England onely; in those few yeares of his gouerne-

The many daungers the King passed.

In Scotland.

England.

gouernement here, wee ſhall finde matter of more than admiration, and ſuch conſpiracie and damned practiſes, as would amaze and (with horror) affright the hearts of tyrants and bloody practiſers.

Secondly, and for *Scotland* firſt (to omit many of leſſe note) I remember that very dangerous conſpiracie of the *Gowries*, onely a practiſe brought to that ripeneſſe as that the King might ſeeme to be faſt in the ſnare his enemies had laid to betray him: yet did God in a trice breake their ſnare, free the King, and deſtroy the *Diuelliſh* deuiſers of that proiect. This ſtory is well knowne, and therefore it need not my report, being alreadie related by ſuch, who haue had better cauſe to know the truth of euery circumcumſtance, and yet in this place doth it merit to bee named both for the rareneſſe of the practiſe and for the greatneſſe of Gods deliuerance.

The conſpiracie of the Gowries.

His deliuerance.

Thirdly, at the *Queenes* death alſo did God wonderfully aſſiſt the King, and fauour the proſperity of his fortunes, for at that time, when the enemies of our *State*, and

At the Queenes death.

the

the enemies of our *Faith* did hopefully beleeue that the enmity of these two kingdomes *England* and *Scotland*, would vpon this occasion haue renued their antient quarrells, and thereby haue interrupted the Kings peaceable entrance into this kingdome; yet was the euent otherwise, no little disturbance letting his *Maiesties* forward entring, whereby God did mocke the expectation of his enemies, and assuredly exceed the expectation of all men.

The Pope and Papist.

No disturbance to let the Kings forward entrance.

Fourthly, that neuer to be forgotten treason of blowing vp with powder, a destruction ment to the King, the Queene, the Prince, the State, the house of *State*, the Church, the Monuments of the Church, the bones, and Sepultures of Princes, a destruction lesse mercifull then the generall Flood; because more sudden, and yet all most generall too, the very naming whereof may serue for euer, to prouoke the people of this kingdom to acknowledge their dutifull thankes to God, by whose hand onely, this mighty deliuerance was wrought.

The treason of the blowing vp the Parliament house.

A destruction lesse mercifull than the Flood.

Fifthly, By these particulers out of many, may

God wonderfully protected the King.

may appeare how God did wonderfully protect the person of that King; suffering him to enter so farre into danger, as that he might haue bene said, to haue stood in the verie gates of death, the match being readily prepared to fire that powder, which if it had bene fired, had committed the greatest Slaughter that euer (at one instant of time) happened. May God therefore for euer be praised, who preuented so great a destruction: and let his prouidence be for euer admired, who hath thus defended the *Defendors of the Catholike Faith.*

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the diuersity of Religions.

Religion deuideth the world.

FIRST, the diuersity of Religions, is one maine cause that deuideth the world into so many disagreements, the maintainers of euery seuerall Sect, disclaiming and persecuting

secuting al diuersity, iudging such for prophãe & out of Gods protection, that conspire not with them, in their opinion of Religion. And heere hẽce it is that the name of *Iew* or *Turke* is odious to a Christian, & the name of *Christian* odious to them, they iudging vs, and we iudging thẽ Anathemates, & curled people.

The names of Christian and heathen odious to one another.

Secondly, neither is this contention onely in these opposites of Christian and heathen; but the heathen among themselues, and the Christians among themselues, are deuided into many bitter differences, the *Turke* against the *Persian* & both against the *Iew*, and so in many other particulars of the barbarous people. Among the *Christians* also the *Papist* against the *Protestãt*, & the *Protestãt* against the *Papist*, & the *Puritan* against them both, besides many other subdiuisions. So that the Christians in these times, haue as many seuerall Religiõs as the old heathen & Pagans had Gods, and that Idolatrie which the people of the old world committed by hauing multiplicity of Gods did the people of these times cõmit by their multipliciuy of Religions. For it is al one to deny God, and

The Christians among themselues and the heathen among themselues deuided.

Among the Christians.

Christians now haue as manie Religions as the Pagans had Gods.

to denie his seruice, and Idolatrie is aswell in false worship, as in no worship. For as God is one & but one, so there is one Religion, and but one, whereto all creatures owe their obedience. And that men might not preuaricate or alter the forme of Gods seruice, hath God himselfe prescribed vs a precise forme, how and in what forme wee should serue him, damning all diuersity to this his owne order, wherewith he is onely pleased, and wherewith he is alway pleased.

One God, one Truth, one Religion.

God hath prescribed an order for his seruice.

Thirdly, the reason then why Religion is thus deuided in the Christian world, is the many seueral constructions of Gods Word, whereby it is both diuersly and doubtfully vnderstood; euery man adhering to that sence of Scripture, as to his iudgement doth seeme most resonable. And from hence it is that these two maine diuisions of Religion, the *Protestant* and the *Papist*, subdeuide themselues againe into many differences, especially the Religion of Poperie. For proofe whereof, we may remember that the Church of *Rome* hath deuided itselfe into so many quarrelsome disputations, that scarce

The reason why Religion is so deuided.

two *Colledges* conſpire one truth after one manner; Nay, and the beſt learned among them, contradict, and haue damned the opinions of one another, this hath bene well declared by many arguments of ſufficient proofe; in the Learned writings of a Reuerend Doctor of this Church, and which is now very lately declared by their own diſagreements, concerning the lawfulneſſe of taking the Oath of Allegiance; in which Controuerſie the *Pope* and his great Cardinall *Bellarmine*, oppoſe againſt their Arch-Prieſt Maſter *Blackwell*.

The contradictions among the learned Papiſts.

Doctor Morton.

Bellarmine *and* Blackwell.

Fourthly, It is alſo worthie of memorie, that diuers of them in *Queene Elizabeths* time being priſoners at *Wisbitch*, were deuided with ſo much hatred, as might ſeme implacable, the quarrell being for ſuperiority betweene the *Ieſuites* and *Secular Prieſts*, began at *Wisbitch*, but ſithence ſpread ouer all Chriſtendome, neither doe I thinke, will euer peaceably be compounded, a matter rare that men profeſſing one Religion and one Faith, priſoners in one place, and being by the Law dead men, and onely continued there

Wisbitch.

Ieſuites and Secular Prieſts.

Note.

there by the mercie of a gratious Prince, ſhould thus bitterly contend about priority and greatneſſe of place. And therefore it is moſt euident, that in that Religion of *Poperie* wherein they ſo much boaſt of vniformity and generall conſent, there are many Sects and many bitter diſagreements.

In the Religion of popery much diuerſity.

Fifthly, and for the *Proteſtant Religion* (whereof I eſteeme moſt reuerently) that alſo is full of much diuerſity, the vaineglorious ſpirits of men diſturbing the peace of that Church, which hath flouriſhed with much proſperity. And theſe diuerſities like a ciuill warre, (and therefore a dangerous warre) haue more indammaged the cauſe of Religion, then all the other enemies in the world euer could doe, which by reaſon of ſingularity and ſtrange doctrine, (with which the groſſe numbers of people are wonderfully contented) they haue got a falſe reputation in the world of holineſſe, and thereby draw from the vnity of the Church numbers of the baſeſt ſort of people.

The Proteſtant Religion denided.

The hurts of diuided Religion.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, It were needleſſe to reckon vp the ſeuerall names of theſe Sciſmes, they are to well knowne in this Nation, whoſe peeuiſh obſtinacie hath bene ſuch, as that neither Law, nor mercy neuer yet could reclaime. And whereas it is obiected by the enemies of our Faith, that becauſe of theſe diuerſities, therefore our Religion is not good. I anſwer, the argument is ſenceleſſe, becauſe (as I haue proued) this diuerſity is in all Religions, and in theirs moſt who moſt obiect againſt vs. Againe, wee all know that the *Church* of the *Iewes* was the true Church of God, yet in that *Church* alſo was there much diuerſity, for the *Sadduces* did denie the reſurrection, which is a fundamentall point of Religion, whereas our greateſt differences are onely for circumſtance and order. And therefore this their argument of diuerſity, doth not conclude againſt the truth of Religion, for the corne may bee good, which lyeth mingled with Chaffe, and ſo muſt the *Church* of GOD lie vntill the day of Iudgement; when as *Chriſt* ſhall come

No meanes to reclaime theſe diſobedient Chriſtians.

Obiections of the Papiſts.

Anſwer. Diuerſity in all Religions.

Diuerſity in the Iewiſh Church. The doctrine of the Sadduces.

with his Fanne, and Seauer the good & bad, which in the meane time must lie in one heape, in one Church, and in one profession or name of *Religion*.

The Kings desert in this respect of vnity.

Seuenthly, in this respect of vnity did the King most nobley defende the *Catholike Faith*, disclaiming the enemies on both hands, the proud *Papist* and the peeuish *Puritan*: and like a most Christian Catholike King he directed himself to *Iesus Christ*, placed as hee was crucified, betweene these two Thieues, who (like two extremities) Neighbour this most vertuous meane. And let it be the prayers of euery true Christian, that his *Maiesties* posterity for euer may thus direct themselus to the Lord *Iesus* only, who only is the way, the truth, and life itself. And let neuer any *Cæsar* of this Empire, incline their fauour to either of these crucified thieues, for though they hang with *Truth*, yet are they not true. And that Religion, which is but neere the *Truth* of the *Catholike Faith* is not that *Truth*, for as God is, so is *Truth*, and so is the faith of holy Religion, one and but one with out all duplicity or difference.

The true Religion is like Christ betweene two Thieues.

Christ the way, the truth, and the life.

He that is but neere truth is not true.

The

The Concluſion.

THVS I haue briefly, and but ſparingly reported the honourable deeds of the Defendors of the *Catholike Faith*, wherein if I had bene iuſt, and had related at full the number of their Princely deſeruings, in this kinde, I ſhould haue vndertaken a buſineſſe of infinite paines, and haue made this volume larger then the patience of theſe times allow to profitable writings. I haue therefore extract from the number of their deeds, ſuch particulars onely as may abundantly ſerue to honour the memorie of their names. And this trauell moſt Noble Prince I preſent to your Highneſſe conſideration, not becauſe I preſume of any worth in my part of this buſineſſe, but becauſe the knowledge thereof doth principally concerne the dignity of your High place, wherein will appeare to your Gratious preſence, the view of your moſt Princely Predeceſſors, and how farre they trauelled themſelues for the aduancement of holy Religion; defending it with reſolutions, conſtant and proſperous. And wherein your Highneſſe may behold, what care this Chriſtian Kingdome hath had for the Chriſtian *Faith*, and what care it doth expect in the hope of your Maieſty, and in your poſterity for euer, *Amen*.

FINIS.